THE WORKS OF *Francis Osborn*, Esq;

Divine, Historical,
Moral, Political.

In four several

TRACTS.

Viz.

I. *Advice to a Son*, in Two Parts.
II. *Political Reflections on the Government of the* Turks, *&c.*
III. *Memoirs on Q.* Elizabeth *and K.* James.
IV. *A Miscellany of Essays, Paradoxes, Problematical Discourses, Letters, Characters,* &c.

The Tenth Edition.

LONDON:
Printed for *A.* and *J. Churchil*, at the *Black Swan* in *Pater-Noster-Row.* 1701.

ADVICE TO A SON.

OR,

DIRECTIONS

FOR

Your better Conduct through the various and most important Encounters of this Life.

Under these General Heads.

1. Studies, *&c.*
2. Love *and* Marriage.
3. Travel.
4. Government.
5. Religion.
Conclusion.

By *FRANCIS OSBORN*, Esq;

The First Part.

London, Printed for *A.* and *J. Churchill.* 1700.

MVSEVM
BRITAN
NICVM

TO THE READER.

SUCH as make it their busines, with the Spider, to suck out the Crudities and Corruptions in Books, are unlikely to fail of Matter here; yet may come far short of the redit and Good might accrue to themselves and thers, did they pore les on what is really amis, nd more on that not yet brought under a perfect nowledge (unpossible to be taken up pure by those hat begin but now to scramble for it:) New Opiions, tho perhaps untrue, rather gaining than sing repute by opposition. This breeds matter of onder, why so many should hazard their Fame, by unning and yelping after those prodigious Wits of his Last Age, BDH, &c. Men not unable ith Abner, to silense these swifter Writers with e But-end of their Quills; and so richly endowed om Nature, as they are able to Trassick upon their gle Stock, without obliging the credit of ancient uthors; who, for ought I know, were of poorer arts, and might learn of them, were they in beg. This is said to honour those that can take eir Pastime in the Depths of Reason; and not shroud my poor Interest under theirs, whose [illegible]

deſerve better Coverings than can be picked out of the choiceſt of my Papers; or theirs that have the impudence to traduce them. It cannot be denied, but that, in imitation of Sea-men, I may perhaps by deſign have caſt out ſome empty ſtuff, to find play for the Whale-mouth'd gapers after Levity; leſt they ſhould ſpoil the Voyage, which for the good of Poſterity, I have ſo long made, beyond thoſe Pillars, the Liberty of theſe times hath afforded Wiſdom a larger Paſſport to Travel, than was ever able formerly to be obtained, when the World kept her fettered in an implicite Obedience, by the threefold Cord of Cuſtom, Education and Ignorance

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The Reaſon why the Authors Name is affixed to this Edition, is given by himſelf, in another Piece in this Book.

TO

TO HIS SON.

SON,

I Have forborn to ſet *your Name* on the Forehead of theſe Aphoriſms, not that I am aſhamed either of *Them* or *You*; but for ſuch like Reaſons.

Firſt, Becauſe ſome *Truths*, I here endeavour to make legible, the Tyranny of *Cuſtom* and *Policy* labours to conceal, as deſtructive to the Project of *Government*; and therefore unlikely to paſs by wiſe Men, without a *formal Reproof*; who have been long ſince taught by unerring Experience, that *Ignorance draws with the leaſt Reluctancy in the Yoke of Obedience*; being of ſo ſheepiſh a Nature, as ſhe is *no Bodies Foe but her own.*

Next, To ſpare you the trouble of arming your Reaſon, in way of Defence, upon every Alarm they may receive from the *Cenſures* of Wiſer or Weaker Judgments: For not carrying the Marks of your particular Intereſt, you may ſtand, as it were, unſeen, behind the Curtain of Indifferency, and hear, without bluſhing, the Opinions of others, if Chance or your Will ſhould pleaſe to make them the object of their Diſcourſe.

Amongſt whom, if any accuſe them, as too *cheap* and obvious; they are unadviſed Queſtioners of their own Charter, in caſe they ſhould be *Fathers*; who were *never denied* yet *the Freedom to teach their Children to mannage an Hobbyhorſe*, without offering Violence to Gravity or Diſcretion.

Neither do we ſo ordinarily fall, through the unevenneſs or difficulty of the *Way*, as Careleſſneſs and Ignorance in the *Journals of former Experience*: This makes it the greateſt Demonſtration of *Paternal Affection*, with the Pelican, to diſſect my ſelf before you, and by ripping up my own Bowels, to let you ſee where *the Defects of Humanity* reſide; which are not only the Occaſions of many Diſeaſes, but of moſt of the Misfortunes accompanying this Life.

And though in paſſing through ſo much weakneſs, they are rendred more deficient, than conſidered in their own Nature, in truth they are: Yet being the beſt I am able to afford you, they cannot but be looked upon (by you) for as lively a Monument of my Love, as if they bore the Magiſterial Impreſs of a Work of *Solomon*'s.

And in regard of *Time*, none can be more opportune than this, in which Men carry Breaſts of Steel againſt thoſe of their own Profeſſion (ſome Nicities excepted) under the imperious pretence of Religion.

If any blinded with Ignorance, or miſled by a more candid Nature, ſhould engage for the *ſufficiency* of Theſe, or any thing elſe I have writ, that may perhaps hereafter be made Publick; I am conſcious of too man Flaws in my ſelf, to be ſwelled beyond my natural proportion.

Your ſake alone produced them, that during the little time I have to live, you might turn to my Judgment, upon all occaſions, without trouble; and converſe with me being dead, without fear.

There is no great difference between good days and evil, when paſt; yet if thus fortified by the *Advice* of a *Father*, no leſs than the *Prayers* of an incomparable indulgent *Mother*, you ſhould break out into *Extravagancies*, preſuming on the Opinion of your own Judgment, and the mediation of our Love (though it would be the ſevereſt Curſe remaining in the Cuſtody of Fortune, yet unlaid upon me:) I doubt

doubt not but to receive more Comfort from a Patience able to bear it, than you ſhall from a Repentance ſufficient to blot it out.

But it is neither Delight in me, nor Charity unto you, by Jealouſie to antedate *Crimes never yet committed*; I deſire you therefore to take *theſe Admonitions* as *Marks to Sail by, not* for *Preſages of Shipwreck.*

For any *Faults* Eſcaped here, through haſte, or other Infirmity, I hope your Love will be large enough to cover them; nor expoſing out of Oſtentation or Idleneſs, *your Fathers ſhame*: whereby not only what is perfect may prove uſeful, but the very Miſtakes and Blots obtained as great a Deſign, by exerciſing your Wit and Induſtry in their *Emendation*; which I expect you ſhould faithfully perform in relation to Theſe, or any thing elſe you find, may traduce the Credit, or ſtain the Memory of

Your Loving Father, &c.

A D.

ADVICE to a SON.

I. *Studies*, &c.

1. THough I can never pay enough to *your Grandfather*'s Memory, for his tender care of my *Education*, yet I muſt obſerve in it this Miſtake; That by keeping me at *home*, where I was one of *my young Maſters*, I loſt the advantage of my moſt docile time. For not undergoing the ſame Diſcipline, I muſt needs come ſhort of their experience, that are bred up in *Free Schools*; who, by plotting to rob an Orchard, *&c.* run through all the Subtilties required in taking of a Town; being made, by uſe, familiar to *Secreſie*, and *Compliance with Opportunity*; Qualities never after to be attained at cheaper rates than the hazard of all: whereas theſe ſee the danger of truſting others, and the Rocks they fall upon, by a too obſtinate adhering to their own imprudent reſolutions; and all, this under no higher penalty than a Whipping: And 'tis poſſible this indulgence of my Father might be the cauſe I afforded him ſo poor a Return for all his Coſt.

But though *Children* attain to an exacter *Knowledge*, both of *themſelves* and the *World*, in *Free* and populous *Schools*, than under a more ſolitary Erudition; yet I think the *Charity* of our *Forefathers* in nothing ſo much miſtaken, as in the vaſt Sums they imployed in theſe (more ſeeming than real) *pious uſes*; which now much redounds to the prejudice of the *Plough*, and the more beneficial *Manufactures* of our Nation: The Sons of the *Menu* lying ſo long under this *lazy Courſe*,

Courſe, that they are rendred ever after reſty to Labour and Travel: which fills the Common-wealth with *Thieves* and *Beggars*; no way to be prevented, but by garbling out of them all Boys of an incapacity, and retaining none that make not more than an ordinary demonſtration of an extraordinary propenſity to Learning: ſince through the Contrary Practice, we lye under the Curſe *Jeroboam* brought upon *Iſrael*: For by making *the meaneſt of the People*, both for Parts and Birth, and ſo of the leaſt credit, *Prieſts*, Religion is now fallen into contempt.

2. As your Education hath been befriended by a *Foundation*, ſo you may endeavour the Requital, if God makes you able: However let not the contrary afflict you; ſince it is obſerved by ſome, That his *name who burnt the Temple of* Diana, *out-laſted theirs that built it*; a fortune God grant may never fall upon our *Univerſities*. Nevertheleſs, if *Zeal* over-heated in the narrow hearts of men ignorant and covetous, ſhould dry up the *Fountains of Learning*, by appropriating their *Revenues*, and demoliſhing thoſe *Monuments* (to the Fame of which Foreign Nations reſort in Pilgrimages, for to offer up Honour and Admiration to theſe Shrines, never empty of glorious Spirits, and return more loaden with Satisfaction, than they could poſſibly bring Prejudice) yet ſhe ſhould pull down no more, than ſhe had formerly raiſed, when incited, by a contrary Affection, to Charity and Knowledge; therefore, a Provocation not ſtrong enough to diſtemper a wiſe Man's Patience; who may eaſily obſerve, in his own or precedent Books of Experience, as great Maps of *Devaſtation*: For, if *one Age* did not *level*, *what another* had *erected*, Variety were loſt, and no means left to render the preſent or future Generations famous or infamous. However ſuch, as by diſobliging Learning and good Wits, frown upon their Painters, cannot expect, their Picture ſhould be conveyed true or fair to Poſterity.

3. Let

3. Let not an over-paſſionate proſecution of Learning draw you from making an honeſt *Improvement of your Eſtate*; as ſuch do, who are better read in the Bigneſs of the whole Earth, than that little Spot, left them by their Friends, for their ſupport.

4. *A mixt Education ſuits Imployment beſt*: *Scholars* and *Citizens*, by a too long plodding in the ſame Track, have their Experience ſeldom dilated beyond the Circle of a narrow Profeſſion; of which they carry ſo apparent Marks, as bewray in all Places, by their *Words* and *Geſtures*, the *Ped* and *Company* they were brought up in; ſo that all ways of Preferment are ſtopped againſt them, through others Prejudice, or their own natural Inſufficiency; it being ordinary in their Practice, to miſtake a wilful *Inſolence* for a reſolute *Confidence*, and *Pride* for *Gravity*; the ſhortneſs of the *Tedder*, their long Reſtraint confin'd them to, not affording convenient Room to take a decent Meaſure of *Virtue* and *Vice*. So by uſing others as they were dealt with themſelves, repute is loſt when they come to command; it being juſtified in Hiſtory, That *Slaves* after they have forgot all fear of the *Sword*, cannot ſhake off the Terrour of the *Whip*. Therefore few not freely Educated, can wear decently the Habit of a *Court*, or behave themſelves in ſuch a Mediocrity, as ſhall not diſcover too much Idolatry towards thoſe in a ſuperior Orb, or diſdain in relation to ſuch, as Fortune rather than Merit hath poſſibly placed below them.

5. I have obſerved in *Collegiate Diſcipline*, That all the *Reverence* to *Superiors*, learned in the Hall or Chappel, is loſt in the *irreverent diſcourſe* you have of them in your Chambers; by this, you leave *the principal buſineſs of Youth* neglected, which is, *to be perfect in Patience and Obedience*; Habits no where ſo exactly learned, as in the *foundations* of the *Jeſuites*, could they be fetcht thence without Prejudice to Religion or Freedom.

6. If

6. If a more profitable Imployment pull you not too ſoon from the Univerſity, make ſome Inſpection into *Phyſick*; which *will add to your Welcome where-ever you come*; it being uſual, eſpecially for Ladies, to yield no leſs Reverence to their Phyſitians, than their Confeſſors: Neither doth the refuſal of Fees abate your Profit proportionably to the Advancement it brings to your Credit: The Intricacy of the Study is not great; after an exact knowledge in *Anatomy* and *Drugs* is attained; not hard, by reaſon of the late Helps. Yet I adviſe you This, under ſuch Caution, as *not to imagine the Diſeaſes you read of, inherent in your ſelf*; as ſome Melancholick young Men do, that make their firſt experiments upon their own Bodies, to their perpetual Detriment; therefore you may *live* By, *not* Upon *Phyſick*.

7. Do not proſecute beyond a ſuperficial Knowledge, any *Learning* that moves upon no ſtronger Leggs, than the tottering Baſis of *Conjecture* is able to afford it: For though you may pleaſe your ſelf in in your own Conceit, it will not be ſo eaſie to ſatisfie others: The capacity of the ignorant lying as much below ſuch Speculations, as the more knowing are above them: there remaining to all, in things dubious, a power to reject, or admit what opinions they pleaſe. Therefore no *Study* is worth a Mans whole employment, that comes not accompanied with *Profit*, or ſuch unanſwerable *Reaſons*, as are able to ſilence all future debate; Nor to be found out of the Liſt of the *Mathematicks*, the Queen of Truth, that impoſeth nothing upon her Subjects, but what ſhe proves due to Belief by infallible Demonſtration: The only knowledge we can on Earth gain, likely to attend us to Heaven. As for *other human Learning*, ſo much of it as is not hewed out of this Rock, is nothing but Lumber and Forms, owned for the Majeſty and Employment only of *Academies*, and of little better uſe than to find Diſcourſe by the Fires ſide. Yet though it cannot

not be denied, that *Number* and *Meaſure*, were all the Journy-men God had during his ſix days labour; my Memory reacheth the time, when the generality of People thought her moſt uſeful *Branches*, *Spells*, and her *Profeſſors*, *Limbs of the Devil*; converting the Honour of *Oxford*, due for her (though at that time ſlender) proficiency in *this Study*, to her ſhame: Not a few of our then *fooliſh Gentry*, refuſing to ſend their Sons thither, leſt they ſhould be ſmutted with the *Black Art*; a term found out by a no leſs dark *Ignorance*, the only Enemy to this Angelical Knowledge. Nor is this a Prodigie in the circulation Time, as might eaſily be inſtanced, did diſcretion allow the ſame liberty to the diſſecters of the preſent Age, as ſhe doth for thoſe paſt: Neither can you make application of any example better, than of this, to diſſuade you from affording an immoderate proportion of Benevolence, or Malignity in relation to any thing, others condemn or approve.

8. Huge *Volumes*, like the Ox roaſted whole at *Bartholomew Fair*, may proclaim plenty of Labour and Invention, but afford leſs of what is delicate, ſavory and well concocted, than *ſmaller Pieces*: This makes me think, that though, upon occaſion, you may come to the Table, and examine the Bill of Fare, ſet down by ſuch *Authors*; yet it cannot but leſſen Ingenuity, ſtill to fall aboard with them; *Human ſufficiency being too narrow, to inform with the pure Soul of Reaſon, ſuch vaſt Bodies.*

9. As the Grave hides the Faults of *Phyſick*, no leſs than Miſtakes, Opinion and contrary Applications are known to have enriched the Art withal; ſo many *old Books*, by like advantages rather than deſert, have crawled up to an eſteem above *new*: It being the buſineſs of better heads perhaps than ever their writers owned, to put a glorious and ſignificant *gloſs* upon the meaneſt conceit or improbable Opinion of *Antiquity*: Whereas *Modern Authors* are brought by *Criticks* to a ſtrict Account for the ſmalleſt ſemblance of

of a Miſtake. If you conſider this ſeriouſly, it will learn you more Moderation, if not Wiſdom.

10. Be converſant in the *Speeches*, *Declarations* and *Tranſactions* occaſioned by the *late War*: out of which more natural and *uſeful Knowledge* may be ſucked, than is ordinary to be found in the mouldy Records of Antiquity.

When I conſider with what contradiction *Reports* arrived at us, during our late Civil Wars; I can give the leſs encouragement to the reading of *Hiſtory*: *Romances*, never acted, being born purer from Sophiſtication than Actions reported to be done, by which Poſterity hereafter (no leſs than Antiquity heretofore) is likely to be led into a falſe, or at beſt, but a contingent belief. *Cæſar*, tho' in this happy, that he had a Pen able to grave into neat Language what his Sword at firſt more roughly cut out, may in my judgment, abuſe his Reader: For he, that for the Honour of his own Wit, doth make People *ſpeak better*, than can be ſuppoſed Men ſo barbarouſly bred were able, may poſſibly report they *fought worſe*, than really they did. Of a like Value are the *Orations* of *Thucidides*, *Livy*, *Tacitus*, and moſt other Hiſtorians; which doth not a little prejudice the Truth of all the reſt.

Were it worthy or capable to receive ſo much Illumination from one never made welcome by it, I ſhould tell the World (as I do you) *There is as little Reaſon to believe*, *Men know certainly all they* Write, *as to think they* Write *all they* Imagine: And as this cannot be admitted without Danger, ſo the other, tho' it may in Shame be denyed, is altogether as true.

11. A *few Books* well ſtudied, and throughly digeſted, nouriſh the Underſtanding more, than hundreds but gargled in the Mouth, as ordinary Students uſe: And of theſe *Choice* muſt be had anſwerable to the *Profeſſion* you intend: For a States-Man, *French Authors* are beſt, as moſt fruitful in *Negotiations* and *Memoirs*, left

left by Publick Miniſters, and by their Secretaries publiſhed after their Deaths: Out of which you may be able to unfold the Riddles of all States: None making more faithful Reports of things done in all Nations, than *Embaſſadors*; who cannot want the *beſt Intelligence*, becauſe their Princes Penſioners unload in their Boſoms, all they can diſcover. And here, by way of Prevention, let me inform you, That ſome of our late *Embaſſadors* (which I could name) impaired our Affairs, by *treating with Foreign Princes in the Language of the Place:* By which they did not only deſcend below their Maſters Dignity, but their own Diſcretion: betraying for want of Words of gravity, the intrinſick Part of their Employment: And going beyond their *Commiſſion*, oftner by Conceſſion, than confining themſelves within it, or to it; *the true Rule for a Miniſter of State*, not hard to be gained by a reſolute conteſt: Which if made by an Interpreter he like a medium, may intercept the ſhame of any impertinent Speech, which Egarneſs or Indiſcretion may let ſlip: Neither is it a ſmall advantage to gain ſo much time for Deliberation, what is fit farther to urge: It being beſides, too much an honouring of their Tongue and undervaluing your own, to Profeſs your ſelf a Maſter therein, eſpecially ſince they ſcorn to learn yours. And to ſhew this is not grounded on my ſingle Judgment, I have often been informed, that the firſt and wiſeſt *Earl of Pembroke*, did return an Anſwer to the *Spaniſh Embaſſador*, in *Welch*, for which I have heard him highly commended.

12. It is an Aphoriſm in Phyſick, That *unwholeſome Airs*, becauſe perpetually ſuck'd into the Lungs, *do diſtemper Health more than courſer diet*, uſed but at ſet Times: The like may be ſaid of *Company*, which if *good*, is *a better Refiner of the Spirits, than ordinary Books.*

13. Propoſe not them for Patterns, who make all Places *rattle*, where they come, with *Latin and Greek*; For *the more you ſeem to have borrowed from Books, the poorer*

poorer you proclaim your Natural Parts, which only can properly be called yours.

14. Follow not the tedious Practice of such as seek *Wisdom* only in *Learning*: Not attainable but by *Experience* and *Natural Parts*. *Much Reading*, like a too great Repletion, stopping up, through a concourse of diverse, sometimes contrary Opinions, the Access of a nearer, newer and quicker *Invention* of your own. And for *Quotations*, they resemble *Sugar in Wine*, marring the natural taste of the Liquor, if it be good; if bad, that of it self: such *Patches* rather making the *rent* seem greater, by an interruption of the Stile, than less, if not so neatly applyd as to fall in without *drawing*: Nor is any *Thief* in this kind sufferable, who comes not off, like a *Lacedemonian*, without discovery.

15. Spend no time in Reading, much less Writing *Strong lines*: Which *like tough meat, ask more pains and time in chewing, than can be recompensed by all the nourishment they bring*.

16. *Books stately Writ* debase your Stile; the like may be truly objected to *Weak Preachers*, and *Ignorant Company*. Pens Improving, like childrens legs, proportionably to their *Exercise* (so as I have seen some stand amazed at the length of their own reach, when they came to be extended by Employment;) This appear'd in the late King *Charles*, who, after his more imperious destiny, had placed him under the Tutorage of an unavoidable necessity, attain'd a *Pen* more Majestical, than the *Crown* he lost. And, tho' *King James* had such an over-esteem of his own *Learning*, that he Imagined all who deserved in that kind, robbed the Monument he sought to build to his Fame; the Foundation of which he fondly conceited to have laid in the Opinion of the World by his printed *Books*, believing they would be valued by impartial Posterity, at the same rate his Flatterers set them up to in his life time; Yet in this he was so far exceeded by *his Son*, that all that

come after may learn; *Experience is a better Tutor than* Buchanan.

17. The way to *Elegancy of ſtile*, is to employ your Pen upon every Errand; and the more trivial and dry it is, the more Brains muſt be allowed for Sauce: Thus by checking all ordinary Invention, your Reaſon will attain to ſuch a Habit, as not to dare to preſent you but with what is excellent; and if void of Affection, it matters not how mean the Subject is: There being the ſame Exactneſs obſerved, by good Architects, in the ſtructure of the Kitchin, as the Parlour.

18. When buſineſs or Complement calls you to *Write Letters*, Conſider what is fit to be ſaid, were the Party preſent, and ſet down That.

19. Avoid *Words* or *Phraſes* likely to be learned in baſe Company; leſt you fall into the Error, the late Archbiſhop *Laud* did; who tho' no ill ſpeaker, yet blunted his repute by ſaying in the *Star-Chamber*, *Men entred the Church as a Tinker and his Bitch do an Alehouſe*. But this may eaſily be declined by thoſe who read for their imitation *the incomparable Lines of the late King*, written in a Stile as free from Affectation as Levity.

20. The ſmall reckoning I have ſeen made (eſpecially in their life time) of excellent *Wits*, bids me adviſe you, that if you find any delight in *writing*, to go on: But, in hope to pleaſe or ſatisfie others, I would not black the end of a Quill: For long experience hath taught me, That *Builders* always, and *Writers* for the moſt part, *ſpend their mony and time in the purchaſe of Reproof and Cenſure* from envious Contemporaries, or ſelf-conceited Poſterity. He that gets the good word of his Reader, hath nothing elſe to look for, nor ask: Therefore if you would happily attain your end, Imitate an active Gentleman, I knew, who paſſing by ſuch as threw the *Bar*, would take it up and pitch it as far as he was able, the firſt time, and ſo leave them: Now few could outthrow him; and ſuch as did, came ſhort in credit: Be-

cauſe

auſe it was the general Opinion, that he who without ntruſſing, or making ſuch a preparation as the Clowns ſe to do, could at the firſt go ſo far, muſt needs with nother aſſay or two, have out-gone them all: tho' in ruth he could not. Thus had he not only his own trength, but the Peoples, which lies in Opinion, to dvance him.

21. Be not frequent in *Poetry*, how excellent ſoever your vein is, but make it *rather your Recreation, than Buſineſs:* Becauſe, tho' it ſwells you in your own opinion, it may render you leſs in that of wiſer men, who re not ignorant, how great a Maſs of Vanity, for the moſt part coucheth under this Quality, Proclaiming heir *Heads, like Ships of uſe only for Pleaſure, and ſo richer in Trimming than Lading.*

It is incident to many, but as it were natural with Poets, to *think others take the like pleaſure in hearing, as they do in reading their own Inventions.* Not conſidering, that the generality of ears are commonly ſtopped with prejudice of Ignorance: Neither can the *Underſtandings* of men, any more than their *Taſts*, be wooed to find a like ſavour in all things; one approving what others condemn, upon no weightier an account than the ſingle ſcore of their own Opinions. Yet ſome, like infirm people, make it the chief part of their entertainment, *to ſhew ſtrangers their gouty Lines*; in which they do not ſeldom become more unhappy than thoſe really diſeaſed, who by ſuch boldneſs do ſometimes hear of a *Remedy*, whereas the other render themſelves incurable: For tho' neat *Wits*, like fair *Ladies*, may taſte a Pleaſure in making communicable the Beauty of their Parts; yet they both appear moſt grateful, when they are obtained with ſtrugling and bluſhing.

22. The Art of *Muſick* is ſo unable to refund for the Time and Coſt required to be perfect therein, as I cannot think it worth any ſerious endeavour: The owner of that Quality being ſtill obliged to the trouble of cal-

culating the difference between the moroſe humour of a rigid Refuſer, and the cheap and proſtituted levity and forwardneſs of a mercenary Fidler. Denial being as often taken for Pride, as a too ready compliance falls under the notion of Oſtentation: Thoſe ſo qualified ſeldom knowing when it is time to begin, or give over; eſpecially *Women*, who do not rarely decline in modeſty, proportionably to the progreſs they make in *Muſick*; ſuch (if handſom) being *Traps baited at both ends*, and catch ſtrangers as oft as their Husbands, no leſs tired with the one than the other.

23. Wear your *Cloaths neat*, exceeding rather than coming ſhort of others of like fortune; a Charge born out by Acceptance where-ever you come: Therefore *ſpare all other ways rather than prove defective in this.*

24. Never *buy* but *with ready Mony*; and be drawn rather to fix where you find things *Cheap* and *Good*, than for *Friendſhip* or *Acquaintance*, who are apt to take it unkindly, if you will not be cheated. For if you get nothing elſe by going from one Shop to another, you ſhall gain Experience.

25. Next to Cloaths, a *good Horſe* becomes a Gentleman: in whom can be no great loſs, after you have got the *skill to chuſe him*; which once attained, you may keep your ſelf from being cozened, and pleaſure your friend: The greateſt danger is *Haſte*: I never lov'd to fix on one *Fat*, for then I ſaw him at the beſt, without hope of improvement: If you have fallen on a *Bargain not for your turn*, make the Market your Chapman, rather than a Friend.

26. *Gallop* not through a *Town*, for fear of hurting your ſelf or others; beſides the undecency of it, which may give cauſe to ſuch as ſee you, to think your Horſe, or Brains none of your own.

27. *Wreſtling* and *Vaulting* have ever been looked upon by me as more uſeful than *Fencing*, being often out dar'd by Reſolution, becauſe of the vaſt difference

difference between a Foyn and a Sword, an Houſe and a Field.

28. *Swimming* mny ſave a man, in caſe of neceſſity; tho' it loſeth many, when practiſed in wantonneſs, by increaſing their confidence; therefore, for Pleaſure exceed not your depth; and *in ſeeking to ſave another, beware of drowning your ſelf.*

29. Tho' *Machiavel* ſets down *Hunting* and *Hawking* in the Bill of Advice he preſcribes to a Prince, as not only the wholſomeſt and cheapeſt Diverſions, both in relation to himſelf and his People, but the beſt Tutors to Horſemanſhip, Stratagems and Situations on which he may have after occaſion to place an Army. Yet theſe are ſo much in the diſpoſition of Chance (the moſt delightful part being wholly managed according to the ſenſe of the Creature) that by ſuch croſs accidents, as do not ſeldom intervene ſtorms of Choler are often raiſed, in which many humors flaſh out, that in a greater ſerenity prudence would undoubtedly conceal; ſo as I could name ſome reputed owers of a habit of Policy, more ruffled, and farther put out of their byas, by a ſmall rub lying in the way of their pleaſure, than a greater could cauſe in that of their profit. And as ſiniſter events in theſe Paſtimes deject a man below the ordinary level of diſcretion, ſo a happy ſucceſs doth as often wind him up to ſuch a jovial pin, that he becomes a familiar Companion to thoſe who can inform his Judgment in little, but what ſignifies nothing, and whom in a more reſerved temper he would think it tedious to hear, yet cannot after ſhake off their acquaintance, without incurring the cenſure of Pride or Inconſtancy. Neither am I led to this opinion by any particular diſaffection, but out of the greater reverence I bear to the wiſdom of Sir *Philip Sidney*, who ſaid that *next* Hunting *he liked* Hawking *worſt*. However tho' he may have fallen into as hyperbolical an extream, yet who can put too great a ſcorn upon their folly, that to

bring home a raskal *Deer*, or a few rotten *Coneys*, ſubmit their Lives to the will or paſſion of ſuch as may take them, under a penalty no leſs ſlight, than there is diſcretion ſhewed in expoſing them?

30. Such as are betrayed by their eaſie nature, to be ordinary *Security* for their Friends, leave ſo little to themſelves, as their Liberty remains ever after arbitrary at the will of others. Experience having recorded many (whom their Fathers had left elbow-room enough) that by *Suretiſhip* have expired in a Dungeon. But if you cannot avoid this Labyrinth, enter no farther than the thread of your own Stock will reach; the obſervation of which will, at worſt, enable you to bail your ſelf.

Let not the *Titles of Conſanguinity* betray you into a prejudicial Truſt; no blood being apter to raiſe a Fever, or cauſe a Conſumption ſooner in your poor Eſtate, than that which is neareſt your own; as I have moſt unhappily found, and your good *Grandfather* preſaged, tho' God was pleaſed to leave it in none of our powers to prevent: Nothing being truer in all *Solomon*'s Obſervations, than that *A good Friend is nearer than an unnatural Brother.*

31. He that *lends upon publick Faith is Security for his own Mony*, and can blame none more than himſelf, if never paid: Common Debts, like common Lands, lying ever moſt neglected.

32. Honeſty treats with the World upon ſuch vaſt diſadvantage, that a *Pen is* often *as uſeful to defend you as a Sword*, by making *Writing* the witneſs of your *Contracts*; for where profit appears, it doth commonly cancel the bands of Friendſhip, Religion, and the memory of any thing that can produce no other Regiſter than what is verbal.

33. In a caſe of importance, hear the *Reaſons of Others* pleaded, but be ſure not to be ſo implicitly led by their Judgments, as to neglect a greater of your *Own*:

As

As *Charles* of *England* did, to the loſs of his Crown. For as the ordinary ſaying is, *Count Mony after your Father*: So the ſame prudence adviſeth, to meaſure the Ends of all Councils, tho' uttered by never ſo intimate a Friend.

34. Beware nevertheleſs of thinking your ſelf wiſer or greater than you are. *Pride* brake the Angels in Heaven, and ſpoils all heads we find crackt here; for ſuch as obſerve thoſe in *Bedlam*, ſhall perceive their Fancies to beat moſt upon miſtakes in Honour or Love. The way to avoid it is, duly to conſider, how *many* are *above you in Parts*, yet *below you in Condition*: And that all men are ignorant in ſo many things; as may juſtly humble them, tho' ſufficiently knowing to bar out deſpair.

Shun *Pride* and *Baſeneſs*, as Tutors to Contempt, the firſt of others, the latter of your ſelf: A haughty Carriage putting as well a mean eſteem on what is praiſeworthy in you, as an high Exciſe on that appears amiſs, *every one* being *more inquiſitive after the Blemiſhes, than the Beauties of a Proud Perſon*; whereas the humble Soul paſſeth the ſtricteſt Guards with more faults, like the fair mouth'd Traveller, without ſcorn, or ſearching.

Tho' it be common with the King of Heaven, to *Puniſh the wicked and Reward the good*; yet we find him ſaid to *Reſiſt* no vice, but *Pride*, nor *Exalt* other vertue, than *Humility*: *That* being the only Sin we read of, ever brake into his Court, unwaſhed by forgiveneſs; where ſhe became the firſt Precedent of Gods leſſening his Family, and the Foundreſs of Hell. Nor are his Vicegerents upon Earth more auſpicious to a *lofty look* for any affection they do naturally bear to it, or its owners: tho' ſometimes they diſſemble their diſlike, out of the uſe they make of ſuch good Parts, as have the ill fortune to be ſo accompanied. This vice being taken as intruſion upon *Majeſty*, the only birth-right of Princes. Therefore (dear Son) let not the apprehenſion of your

merit lead you up to this Pinnacle, from whence many have fallen, to their utter ruin. Nothing you find about you being your own, but ſcraps ſtollen from Books, and begged, or rather dearly bought of Experience: This proves the vanity of Pride, that tho' ſhe is able to boaſt of no more than ſhe hath received; (the Hive being poſſibly altered, but not the Hony) yet ſhe is raviſhed ſo with the conceit of what ſhe hath (a contemplation befitting only the Lord of all things) as to neglect a ſupply of what is wanting; which, juſtly ſummed up, amounts to more than the abilities of any one man are able to reach.

35. King *James* uſed to ſay of a Perſon in high Place about him, that *he* ever *trembled at his approach, it minded him ſo of his Pædagogue.* Truth is; a *ſupercilious aſpect* might be more ſutable to the Court of *Spain*, where men ſeem wiſer than they are, than that of *England*, where they for the moſt part were wiſer, than at the firſt ſight they appeared to be: No Princes delighting to ſee *Anxiety* painted before them, when free from Perturbation themſelves; no more than a joyful countenance, when their affairs or humour call for a contrary aſpect: to which a Courtier is bound in wiſdom to ſute his *Geſtures*; who are more generally pleaſed with a *Sanguine Complexion*, than ſuch as own a *diſmal or melancholy look.* But *Kings* are Heteroclites, and ſo far from being comprized under general Rules, that it is not poſſible ſometimes for Patience her ſelf to decline their Malignity, or find a temperament ſutable unto them: Only this I leave you as an Experimented Aphoriſm, that at all times, but eſpecially when good or *bad news* is expected, ſuch as *whiſper*, make any *ſudden noiſe*, or *approach haſtily* to the Throne, put them in diſaray, either deluding their Hopes, or anticipating their Fears. In a word, the beſt way to keep you in eſteem with great ones, is, to obſerve ſuch a mannerly circumſpection, as your *acceſſes* may be neither terrible, nor tedious.

36. To

36. To *whiſper* with another, in company of your betters, is *uncivil*, and the more eminent the perſon is, the greater ſuſpicion it raiſeth, who owns an intereſt in the expoſition of all things done or ſaid in his preſence by meaner men. Nor is it ſafe to pour a *ſecret* publickly into the ear of a *Prince*, at the ſuit of a leſs weighty occaſion, than that of an unavoidable neceſſity: ſuch *Intimacy* alarming not only the ſuſpicion of Enemies, but the envy of Friends; ſince every one, his eyes chance to glance upon during your Diſcourſe, imagines himſelf the ſubject treated about: The Pride, a *Secretary* of State took in this (ſeeming, but not ſeldom deſtructive) Honour, did in my time ſo perplex the *Minion*, as he procured his ejection, without affording any other Reaſon, than his *whiſpering with the King*, in his preſence; taken then for an high Preſumption, however it may ſeem now the Forms of Honour are altered.

37. When you *ſpeak* to any (eſpecially of Quality) *look them full in the Face*; other Geſtures bewraying want of Breeding, Confidence, or Honeſty; *dejected Eyes* confeſſing, to moſt Judgments, Guilt or Folly.

38. *Impudence* is *no Virtue, yet able to beggar them all*; being for the moſt part in good Plight, when the reſt ſtarve; and capable of carrying her Followers up to the higheſt Preferments; found as uſeful in a Court, as Armour in a Camp. *Scotchmen* have ever made good the Truth of this, who will go farther with a Shilling, than an *Engliſhman* can ordinarily paſs for a Crown.

39. I do not find you guilty of *Covetouſneſs*, neither can I ſay more of it, but that *like a Candle, ill made, it ſmothers the Splendor of an happy Fortune in its own Greaſe*.

Yet *live* ſo *Frugally*, if poſſible, as to reſerve ſomething, may inable you to grapple with any future contingency. And *provide in Youth*, ſince *Fortune* hath this proper with other common Miſtreſſes, that ſhe *deſerts Age*, eſpecially *in the Company of Want*. But

But I need not uſe other Perſuaſions unto you concerning *Thrift*, than what the ſtraitneſs of your own Fortune points you to; more contracted by others Covetouſneſs than my Prodigality.

40. 'Tis generally ſaid of the *Fox*, That he ſupplants the *Badger*, and neſtles himſelf in his Den: What may be pure nature in him, wiſe *Seneca* adviſeth for the higheſt Prudence, rather to purchaſe a *Houſe* ready *built*, than endure the tedious and troubleſom Expectaton and Charge attending the moſt diligent and able *Contriver*: Who cannot find ſo much pleaſure in ſeeing his Idea's brought into Form, as he ſhall meet Diſcontent from the Miſtakes of his Commands, Greatneſs of the Expence, and Idleneſs of the Workmen; who the better to draw men into this Labyrinth, make things appear more cheap and eaſie, than any Undertaker of ſuch a Task ever yet found; knowing, if once ingaged, the Spurs of Shame and Neceſſity will drive him on; when the *Buyer* may take or leave, having a World to chuſe in, and the choiceſt Conveniences at anothers Coſt, without participating of their Diſgrace, for ſuch Faults as Curioſity may find, and he himſelf might have fallen into, had he been Operator: Since nothing was ever yet ſo exactly contrived, but better Information, or a new diſcovery of a more commodious *Faſhion* or *Situation* did arreign of Defect. Which altogether, proves it the beſt Advice, rather to endure the Abſurdities of others *gratis*, than to be at the Coſt to commit greater your ſelf.

Keep no mor *Servants* than you have full Employment for; and if you find a good one, look upon him under no ſeverer aſpect than that of an *humble Friend*; the difference between ſuch a one and his Maſter reſiding rather in Fortune than Nature. Therefore do not put the worſt Conſtructions upon any thing he doth well, or miſtakes. Thus by proportioning your Carriage to thoſe below, you will the better bring your Mind to

a

ſafe and eaſie Deportment to ſuch as Fate hath ſet a-ove you. To conclude, *Servants* are ever Sharers with heir Maſters in Proſperity, and not ſeldom an occaſion f their Deſtruction in bad Times, by fomenting Jea-ouſie from without, or Treachery within.

41. Leave your *Bed* upon the firſt deſertion of Sleep: t being ill for the Eyes to readlying, and worſe for the Mind to be idle: ſince the Head, during that lazineſs, s commonly a Cage for Unclean Thoughts.

42. It is no where wholſom, to *eat* ſo long as you re able; eſpecially in *England*, where Meat, apteſt to nveigle the Stomach to an over-repletion, comes laſt: But in caſe you tranſgreſs at one Meal, let no perſuaſi-on tempt you to a ſecond Repaſt, till by a fierce Hunger you find your ſelf quite diſcharg'd of the former Exceſs. An exact Obſervance of this hath, under God, made me reach theſe Times, and may, through his Mercy, pre-ſerve you for better. I have heard, That the *Indians*, by the great Moderation they uſe, are well able to di-geſt raw Fleſh; thought by ſome of more Natural, if not eaſie Concoction, than what is dry-roaſted.

Drink not being *Hot*, unleſs Sack, *&c.* ſuch Droughts reſiding rather in the Palate and Throat, than Stomach, and ſo ſafer quenched by Gargles, Liquoriſh, a Cherry or *Tobacco*; the uſe of which I neither perſuade nor prohibit, having taken it my ſelf ſince ſixteen, with-out any extraordinary Marks of Good or Ill, but can-not approve Noſing, or ſwallowing it down; as many to my Knowledge have done, not long-liv'd.

43. Nothing really acceptable to the Guſto of Hu-manity, but Prudence may experiment without *detection* or waking the clamorous Multitude, (gratified in all Opportunities they have to accuſe others, tho' far more guilty themſelves:) a Temper not poſſibly to be attain'd by the Lovers of *Drink*, which *will not only ren-der my Reaſons, but your own uſeleſs.*

Let

Let not Incivility in the Adminiſtration of an Officer provoke you to a contempt of the Authority he acts by; many being quick in Memory, who, out of ſcorn to be catechiſed by a *Conſtable*, have ſumm'd up their dáys at the end of a Watchman's Bill; who being armed with Law, ought not in Reaſon to be reſiſted; ſince, if you are no Malefactor, he attends for your Preſervation. Nor is there a Capacity of finding Honour by Night about thoſe, that can lay Claim themſeves to none by day-light; and through whom a ſmall drop of Silver will carry you more ſafe than a Sword. Therefore ſince this folly is the Birth-right of *Drink*, I would have only Dinners aſſigned for Friendſhip; in hope that ſuch as begin then, tho' they out-ſit the Sun, will be delivered of the fury of the Diſtemper before the *Watch* be ſet.

Were *Drink* capable of Counſel, I ſhould adviſe, if unfortunately overtaken by ſuch a *Diſtemper*, *not to remove from the Place you received it in*; by which ſome part of the ſhame may be avoided, and more of the Danger, attending the irregular Motions of this giddy Spirit.

Drink, during the Operation of the Diſtemper, will Act all the Humors habitual in *Madmen*: Amongſt both which I have ſeen ſome very Zealous and Devout, who, the fit once over, remained no leſs Prophane. This proves *Godlineſs capable of being feigned*, and may raiſe an Uſe of Circumſpection, in relation to ſuch as profeſs more than is ſuitable to Human Frailty.

44. He that always regulates his *Diet* by the ſtrict Rules of Phyſick, makes his Life no leſs uncomfortable to himſelf than unſociable unto others: The like doth he that uſeth palpable *Plots* in trivial things: Who is made by this ſo ſuſpected in Commerce, as none will approach him unarmed with the like Weapons: For tho' *Wiſdom may purchaſe Reverence* and *Attention*; *Subtilty* (diſtinguiſhed from it only by a ſly Carriage) *raiſeth always Suſpicion*: Wherefore, *the Cloſe-*

Cloſeneſs of the Heart, in matters of Conſequence, is beſt ſecured by an openneſs of things of leſs Moment.

45. Experience hath found it no leſs ſhame than Danger, in being the *Chief at a merry Aſſignation*: Since what is of evil Savour falls moſt to their Meſs at the upper end of the Table; but good to the meaneſt, who have the Impudence to ſcramble up any things that ſuit to their Advantage, as readily as they can have Oaths to decline what may redound to their Loſs.

Beware what *Company* you keep, ſince *Example prevails more than Precept*, tho' by the Erudition dropping from theſe Tutors, we imbibe all the tinctures of Vertue and Vice: This renders it little leſs than impoſſible for Nature to hold out any long Siege againſt the batteries of Cuſtom and Opportunity.

46. Let your *Wit* rather ſerve you for a Buckler to defend your ſelf, by a handſom Reply, than the Sword to wound others, tho' with never ſo facetious a *Reproach*, Remembring that a *Word cuts deeper than a ſharper Weapon*, and the wound it makes is longer in curing: A blow proceeding but from a light motion of the Hand agitated by Paſſion, whereas a diſgraceful Speech is the reſult of a low and baſe eſteem ſetled of the Party in your Heart.

47. *Much Wiſdom* reſides in the *Proverbs* of all Nations, and therefore fit to be taken notice of: of which number this is common amongſt us, *Play with me, but hurt me not*, It being Paſt peradventure, that more *Duels* ariſe from Jeſt than Earneſt, and between Friends than Enemies; ſerious Injuries ſeldom happening but upon premeditation, which affords Reaſon ſome, tho' perhaps no full Audience; whereas this extemporary Spirit conjured up by ſhame and ſmart, harkens to nothing but the raſh advice of a preſent Revenge.

48. If an *Injury* be of ſo rank a Nature, as to extort (in point of Honour) an *unſavoury Word* (never ſuitable

ble to the mouth of a Gentleman) Sword-men adviſe, to ſecond it with a Blow by way of prevention, leſt he ſtriking firſt (which cannot but be expected) you ſhould be caſt behind-hand. But this their Decree not being confirmed by *Act of Parliament*, I cannot find it ſuitable with Prudence or Religion, to make the Sword Umpire of your own Life and anothers, no leſs than the Law, upon no more ſerious an occaſion, than the vindication of your Fame, loſt or gain'd, by this brutiſh valour, in the opinion of none that are either wiſe or pious: It being out of the reach of queſtion, that a *Quarrel* is not to be ſcrued up to ſuch a hight of Indiſcretion, without arraigning one or both parties of Madneſs: Eſpecially ſince formal *Duels* are but a late invention of the Devils, never heard of, in relation to private Injuries; among the *Romans* the *Gladiators* fighting for their Pleaſure, as the *Horatii* and *Curatii* for the ſafety of the People. It cannot be denied, but that Story lays before us many kill'd for private revenge, but never accompanied with ſo ridiculous a Formality, as the ſending of *Challenges*, which renders *the Dead a greater Murtherer than he is that kills him*, as being without doubt the Author of his own Death. This makes me altogether believe, that ſuch wild Man-hood had its original from *Romances*, in which the Gyant is deſigned for death, and the Knight to marry the Lady, whoſe Honour he hath preſerved; not ſo gently treated by the *Engliſh Law*, where if his Legs or Friends be not the better, he is hang'd, and his Eſtate confiſcated, to the perpetual detriment of his Family: beſides the ſting of Conſcience, and a natural fear, like that of *Cain*'s, attending Blood, by which the remainder of life is made tedious and miſerable to ſuch unfortunate Men, who ſeem in all honeſt Company to ſmell too ſtrong of Blood, to be taken into any intimate Relation.

49. *Profecute* not a *Coward* too far, leſt you make him turn valiant to your diſadvantage; it being impoſſible for any ſtanding even in the World's opinion, to gain glory by the moſt he can have of thoſe that lie under ſuch a repute; beſides, *Valour is rather the Product of Cuſtom, than Nature*, and often found, where leaſt expected; do not therefore waken it to your prejudice, as I have known many, that would ſtill be *Inſulting*, and could not ſee when they were well.

50. *Speak diſgracefully* of none at *Ordinaries*, or publick *Meetings:* Leſt ſome Kinſman, or Friend, being there ſhould force you to a baſe Recantation, or ingage you in a more indiſcreet Quarrel: This renders all Free Diſcourſe dangerous at Meetings or mixed Companies.

51. Carry no *Dogs* to *Court*, or any publick Place, to avoid Conteſts with ſuch as may ſpurn, or endeavour to take them up: The ſame may be ſaid of *Boys* not wiſe or ſtrong enough to decline or revenge Affronts, whoſe Complaints do not ſeldom ingage their Maſters; as I knew one of Quality killed in the Defence of his *Page*: The like danger attends ſuch as are ſo indiſcreet, as to Man *Whores* in the Street, in which every one pretends to have an Intereſt for his Mony, and therefore unwilling to ſee them monopolized, eſpecially when they have got a Pot in their Pate.

52. *Reveal* not the Pranks of anothers *Love*, how ſerious or ridiculous ſo ever you find them, it being unlikely the Mirth ſhould compenſe the Danger: By this you ſhall purchaſe your ſelf a *Retentive Faculty*, and ſell your Friend a ſtronger Confidence of your *Secrecy*; hanging on him the Lock of a perpetual Obligation, of which you may ever be keeper of the Key, either out of Love or Fear: Yet many other Faults are not more dangerous to commit, than know without detecting.

53. Be

53. Be not *Trumpet* of your own *Charity*, or *Vices*; for by the one you diſoblige the Receiver, as well as loſe your Reward; and by the other, you alarm the Cenſures of Men; moſt being condemned through the Evidence they give againſt themſelves by their *Words* and *Geſtures*.

54. If it be *Levity* and *Oſtentation*, to boaſt when you do well, in what Claſs of Folly muſt they be ranked, that *brag of the Favours of Women*? Rendring themſelves, by this, no leſs frail than they; It being *more Shame for a Man to be leakie and incontinent at the Mouth, than for a Woman to ſcatter her Favours*.

55. To make *Love to married Women* doth not only multiply the Sin, but the Danger; neither can you, if queſtioned by her Husband, uſe, with Hope of Victory, any ſharper Weapon, than *Repentance*, *ſheathed in a modeſt Excuſe*.

56. Fly, with *Joſeph*, the *Embraces of great Ladies*; leſt you loſe your Liberty, and ſee your Legs rot in the Stocks of the *Phyſician*; they being often Unwholſom, ever ſo unreaſonable, as to exact a Conſtancy from you, themſelves intend not to obſerve; perverting ſo far the Curſe of God, as to make *your Deſires ſubject to theirs*.

57. Uſher not *Women* to *Masks*, *Plays*, or other ſuch *publick Spectacles* to which you have not an eaſie Acceſs for Mony or Favour; ſuch Places being apter to create Injury, than afford an handſom Opportunity for Revenge: Beſides, if thoſe you carry be Old and Deformed, they diſparage you; if Young and Handſom, themſelves.

To the Reader, concerning the follow-Diſcourſe of *Love* and *Marriage*.

THis had not appeared, being a reſult of more juvenile Years, but that I feared, if let alone, it might hereafter creep abroad from under a falſe Impreſſion, and one more ſcandalous to that Sex, than becomes my Complexion or Obligation. Therefore, to vindicate me from the no leſs inhumane than unnatural Imputation of a Women-Hater, *I do here proteſt, with a Reference to their Charity and my own moſt ſerious Affections, That if the Party Adviſed had been a* Daughter, *my Ink muſt have caſt blacker, than the rich Grain of their Angelical Beauty is capable to be aſperſed by. It being obſervable, That ſuch Idolaters as made She-Deities the object of their Worſhip, were, by all, celebrated for moſt Learning, Wiſdom and Civility. Nevertheleſs, tho'* Women be Cordials when deſire is paſt, and Juleps while the Heat continues, *yet ſince it is ordinary, for Dablers in Beauty to miſtake* Poyſon *for* Phyſick *(ſuch Feminine Boxes not always bearing Drugs ſuitable to their Inſcriptions, but being often Painted with more Perfections, than they carry in them) I hope this Diſcourſe may the better be excuſed, having the Example of* Solomon *to juſtifie the Harſhneſs of my Expreſſions, no leſs than his Follies to warrant the Neceſſity of the Caution; leſt my Son ſhould mire himſelf and his Hopes in the Perſuit of ſuch* fooliſh Flames, *as have tempted the Strongeſt, Wiſeſt and moſt Religious out of the Ways of Peace. I ſhall foreſtal the Reader with no farther Complement, than* That he would forbear to condemn or praiſe beyond Reaſon; *leſt he ſhould appear too ſevere towards my Levity, or indulgent to his own Moroſity in Relation to Beauty.*

ADVICE to a SON.

II. *Love* and *Marriage.*

1. LOVE, like a Burning-glaſs, Contracts the dilated Lines of Luſt, and fixeth them upon one object; beſtowed by our fellow-Creatures (the exacter Obſervers of the Dictates of Nature) promiſcuouſly, without partiality in affection, on every diſtinct Female of their reſpective *Species*; whereas Man, being reſtrained to a particular Choice, by the ſeverity of Law, Cuſtom and his own more ſtupendious Folly; out of a jealouſie to be robbed of a preſent deſire, is ſo hurried away with the firſt apparition of an imaginary Beauty, (ſuppoſed by his Fancy, groſly abuſed by her Servants the Senſes corrupted and ſuborn'd through an implacable Appetite, which Nature for her own end of continuance ſtirs up in all to this fleſhly Conjunction) that no Reaſon can for the preſent be audible, but what pleadeth in favour of this ſoft Paſſion; which makes a deeper or leſſer impreſs, proportionable to the temper of the Heart it meets with; cauſing Madneſs in ſome, Folly in all; placing, like ſtupid Idolaters, Divinity in a ſilly Creature, ſet by the Inſtitutes of Nature in a far inferior Claſs of Perfection to that which makes it his Buſineſs to worſhip and adore it; imagining as falſe felicities in the fruition, as they apprehend Miſeries in the Loſs; when all they deſire is but the Fruit of that Tree, the Kernel of that Apple, which firſt deſtroyed us all; fair to ſight, but of fatal and dreadful conſequence to the Taſter; rendring him ſubject to Slavery, that was born

born free; and suffering her to Command, who ought in righter Reason to Serve and Obey.

2. To cure *Youth* wholly of this Desire, were as uneasie a task, as to divest it of Humanity: Therefore I expect you should be tossed in this Storm, but would not have you Shipwrack'd, by contracting your self to the Ocean, unless with the Duke of *Venice*, you might yearly repeat the Ceremony to as great an advantage.

3. For if ever *Marriages* were on all sides happy, (which is no Schism to doubt of) experience never found them among such as had no other nealing, but what they received from the flames of *Love*; which cannot hold without Jealousie, nor break without Repentance, and must needs render their Sleep unquiet, that have one of these *Cadds* or Familiers still knocking over their Pillow.

4. Those *Vertues*, *Graces*, and *reciprocal Desires*, bewitched Affection expected to meet and enjoy, Fruition and Experience will find absent, and nothing left but a painted Box, which Children and Time will empty of Delight; leaving Diseases behind, or, at best, incurable Antiquity.

5. Therefore I Charge you, (as you will answer the contrary another day to your own Discretion, and upon the penalty of a bitter (tho' vain) Repentance) not to truck for, or entertain Commerce upon the credit of *Marriage*, with a solitary, that is, an *unendowed Beauty* (which if really intended, you question your own Judgment; if otherwise, the Honesty of you both:) From whence I have known such sad Consequents to result, as have made some (wise enough to presage the mischief of the event) so far concede to the Tears and Misery of the Party, as to cast themselves, out of meer Pity and Conscience, into the precipice of *Marrige*; burying their own Fortunes and future Felicity, only to satisfie the Affection of another.

6. *Marriage*, like a Trap set for Flies, may possibly be cinted at the Entrance, with a little Voluptuous-

neſs, under which is contained a draught of deadly Wine, more pricking and tedious than the Paſſions it pretends to cure, leaving the Patient in little quieter condition in the morning, than him that hath over-night kill'd a man to gratifie his Revenge.

Eve, by ſtumbling at the Serpents ſolicitations, caſt her Husband out of Paradiſe; nor are her Daughters ſurer of foot, being foundered by the heat of Luſt and Pride; and unable to bear the weight of ſo much of our Reputation, as Religion and Cuſtom hath loaded them withal; that an unbalaſted Behaviour, without other Leakage, is ſufficient to caſt away an Husbands Eſteem: Neither doth the penalty of a *Light Report* laid on the *Mother*, conclude there, but diffuſeth it ſelf, like a Leproſie, over Poſterity, being uncapable of any other cure, than length of time can deduce out of forgetfulneſs.

7. It were ſomething yet, if *Marriage* could *anſwer* the *expectation* of all ſhe boaſts the cure of, in the large Bill our Mountebank Teachers proclaim in every ſtreet; which, upon trial, ſhe often comes ſo far ſhort of, as to ſatisfie none, but rather aggravates the ſins of Solitude, making ſimple *Fornication* to ſprout into *Adultery*. And if it happen that your *Wife* be *impotent* or *infected* (as not a few are) with one or more of thoſe loathſom *Diſeaſes* incident to weak feminine nature, which render her unſociable, you are Poſted off, both by Lawyers and Divines, to the ſame Patience, I do here more opportunely propoſe, before you are fallen under ſo miſchievous and expenſive a Conjunction.

8. If none of my perſwaſions, nor others woful Experience, daily met with in the World, can deter you from yoaking your ſelf to anothers deſires, make not *Celebrated Beauty* the Object of your Choice; unleſs you are ambitious of rendring your Houſe as populous as a Confectioners Shop; to which the gaudy Waſps no leſs than the liqouriſh Flies, make it their Buſineſs to reſort, in hope of obtaining a lick at your Honey pot

pot; which tho' bound up with the ſtrongeſt obligations or reſolutions, and ſealed by never ſo many proteſtations, yet Feminine Veſſels are obnoxious to ſo many frailties, as they can hardly bear without breaking, the Pride and Content, they naturally take in ſeeing themſelves adored: Neither can you, according to the *looſe Cuſtom* of *England*, decently reſtrain her from this Concourſe, without making demonſtration of Jealouſie towards her (by which you confeſs your ſelf a *Cuckold* in your own Imagination already) or Incivility to ſuch as come to Viſit you; tho' it may be ſtrongly preſumed, your ſake hath the leaſt ſhare in this Ceremony, however tied in Manners to attend with patience, till his *Worſhip*, perhaps his *Lordſhip*, had pump'd his Wit dry, having no more Complements left but to take leave: Thus, with his Invention rebated, but not his Luſt, he returns home; where the old preſerver of Bawdry, his Kinſwoman, perceiving, by his dejected Countenance, that he came ſhort of his deſires, and wanting a new Gown, imbarks her ſelf for the employment; and to put the honeſter Face upon ſo ugly a deſign, ſhe contracts a ſtraight alliance with your (yet poſſibly unconquered) Bed-fellow, and under pretence of a Goſſipping, or perhaps a Voyage to ſome Religious Exerciſe, hurries her away in his *Honour*'s Coach to a Meeting-Houſe, where tho' ſhe be taken by Storm, is fairly ſent home with Bag and Baggage, being only plundered of what you are not likely to miſs; and finding it unſafe to complain, returns again upon her Parole, or ſo often as her new Governor Pleaſeth to ſummon her, ſheltering the fault under Cuſtom, your unavoidable Fate, or perhaps Providence (which for their excuſe, ſome are wicked enough to plead) till her Forehead be as much hardned with Impudence, as yours is with Reproaches, *&c.* And yet he is the happier owner, who hath a Wife wiſe enough to coceal the real Horns of her Husband, than ſhe, that being innocent, doth by her light Carriage make the baſe

Symptoms appear in the World's Opinion: Oh remember this, when you are about to forget the Pleasure and Safety, only to be found in a *Single Life*.

If you conſider *Beauty* alone, quite diſcharged from ſuch *Debentures*, as ſhe ows to the Arts of *Tire-Women*, *Taylors*, *Shoomakers*, and perhaps *Painters*, you will find the remains ſo inconſiderable, as ſcarce to deſerve your preſent Thoughts, much leſs to be made the Price of your perpetual Slavery: Be not then led, like a Child, by theſe gaudy *Butterflies*, amongſt the Bryers and Nettles of the World; ſince obtained, a little Time and Uſe will wear off their Faiding Colours, leaving nothing in your Poſſeſſion but a bald, drowſie *Moth*; which if Good, will by accident, if Bad, make it her buſineſs to diſcontent you.

9. The *Engliſh Laws* are compoſed ſo far in favour of *Wives*, as if our Anceſtors had ſent Women to their Parliaments, whileſt their Heads were a wool-gathering at Home, allowing no *abuſing of Husbands* Capital, nor *Marriage* diſſolvable, but in caſe of *Adultery*, not ſubject to proof but under the Atteſts of two Witneſſes at one and the ſame Time: Nor is non-cohabitation a ſufficient Diſcharge from his keeping all ſuch Children, as her Luſt ſhall produce during his abode between the Four *Engliſh Seas*; ſo as if his Wife be a *Strumpet*, he muſt Baniſh himſelf, or deal his Bread and Cloaths to the ſpurious Iſſue of a Stranger; a Thraldom, no Wiſe-man would ſell himſelf to for the faireſt Inheritance, much leſs for Trouble, Vexation and Want, during Life. Whence it may be ſtrongly preſumed, that the Hand of *Policy* (which firſt or laſt brings all things expedient to Human Society, under the Imperious Notion of Religion) hung this Padlock upon the Liberty of Men, and after Cuſtom had loſt the Key, the *Church*, according to her wonted Subtilty, took upon her to protect it; delivering in her Charge to the People, that *ſingle Wedlock* was by Divine Right, making the contrary, in diverſe places,

Death,

Death, and where ſhe proceeded with the greateſt Moderation, Excommunication: Condemning thereby (beſides four fifth Parts of the World) the Holy *Patriarchs*, who among their ſo frequent Dialogues held with their Maker, were never Reprov'd for multiplying *Wives* and *Concubines*; reckoned to *David* as a Bleſſing; and to *Solomon* for a mark of Magnificence. Nevertheleſs the wily *Prieſts* are ſo tender of their own Conveniences, as to forbid all *Marriage* to themſelves upon as heavy a puniſhment as they do *Poligamy* unto others: Now if nothing capable of the Name of Felicity was ever, by men or Angels, found to be denied to the *Prieſthood*, may not *Marriage* be ſtrongly ſuſpected to be by them thought out of that Liſt? Tho' to render it the more glib to the wider ſwallow of the long abuſed *Laity*, they have gilt it with the glorious Epithete of a *Sacrament*, which yet they loath to clog their own Stomachs withall. However the patient ſubmiſſion to the Inſtituton of *Marriage* is the more to be wondered at, ſince *Man* and *Woman* not being allowed of equal ſtrength, are ſo far prevailed upon by *Policy*, as quietly to ſubmit themſelves to one *Yoke*.

10. Yet this may be ſaid for it, that as men ſuffer themſelves to be bound when they are cut of the *Stone* or any ſharp Diſeaſe, being conſcious of their want of Reſolution or Conſtancy: From whence the wiſe Operator takes ſo great an advantage, as not to let them looſe, till they have obtained their Cure: So the grave *Law* ſettles by this way our wild and wandering Affections, converting them to the publick benefit, perſwading ſuch as are willing to hear her, That *A Wife is a Medicine both for ſtrong and weak*, quenching the fire of the one, no leſs than reſtoring the heat of the other; being the true and ſhorter Part of the *Tally*, without which Man can render no juſt Account of his Life; thought too ſmooth and oily to climb Heaven, unleſs mingled with the Vinegar of *Marriage*.

11. Nevertheleſs there is not in Private Perſons any other neceſſary Conſtraint to this *Conjunction*, but what reſults from Underſtandings ſo muffled for the preſent, that they cannot diſcern, that *Marriage* is a Clog faſtned to the Neck of Liberty, by the jugling Hand of *Policy*, that provides only for the general Neceſſities of all in groſs, not the particular Conveniences of Single Perſons; who, by this, give ſtronger Security to the Commonwealth, than ſuits with Prudence or Liberty. And to ſuch as ask, How ſhould the World ſubſiſt, did all obſerve the like Caution? It may be anſwered, As well as without Unthrifts, who by ſpending their Eſtates profuſely, make way for wiſer men to be the more happy; and as it is impoſſible to find a Dearth of the latter, tho not compelled thereunto by any other Law, than the Inſtigation of their own Folly; ſo doubt not but there will be enough found of the former, to ſtock the World, without putting ſo chargable an Experiment on your own Conveniency.

12. We brook nothing well, *Reſtraint* ties us to; therefore ſome take more Content in ſharing a *Miſtreſs* with others, than they can find in the ſole Fruition of a *Wife*: The Reaſon is, *Strangers are taken for Dainties, Wives as Phyſick*. *Riches* and *Honour* were in the ſame Predicament, but that they ſtill leave ſomething behind to be deſired; *Luſt* nothing, beyond the Repetition of the ſame again, which after a few Enjoyments grows tedious. Other Courſes weary us with the *Change*, this with Continuance.

13. Ask your ſelf, What Deſire you ever attained, that a long and often repeated *Fruition* did not render tedious, if not loathſom, tho' the thing wiſhed for remained in the perfection it was before Enjoyment? And can your Reaſon promiſe you, to continue the ſame unto *Beauty*; ſo tranſitory, as it is in a manner loſt, before you can truly conſider, whether it belongs to Nature, or the Dreſs: Therefore when diſcontented with your preſent Condition, tumble towards any

Change

hange, rather than into that bottomleſs Pit, out of hich no Repentance can bayl you.

14. After that *Age*, *Wearineſs*, *Wiſdom* or *Buſineſs* ath diſpoſſeſſed you of this dumb and deaf *Amorous pirit*, and concluded all Deſires to *Uxorious Vanities*; is poſſible your *Wife's* Appetite may increaſe, and hat Diſeaſe of *Luſt*, which your Youth cured before he had leaſure to diſcover it, may then unſeaſonably nterrupt your Sleep; calling for that, there ſhall be othing in her, but Importunity, to provoke you to; or in you, but the deſire of Quiet, and to conjure own the fierce Devil *Jealouſie*, which haunts the Houſes of Married Folks, rendring them no leſs unappy, diſmal and clamorous, than the Temple of *Moch*, where ſuch Children and Servants, as you moſt deight in, ſhall paſs through the Fire of daily contention.

15. Were it poſſible to aſſign to your Choice *the Virtues of your Mother* (which I Confeſs are inferior to one) and fancy a *Son*, with as rich Parts as imagination is able to endow a Creature withal; yet a *Daughter* may come, that for want of good Behaviour, or Care in *Marriage*, ſhall infuſe ſo much Gall into your Cup, as will be able to imbitter all the Pleaſures taken n the reſt: Or if you ſhall eſcape this in regard of one, the leaſt Deformity happening to any of the others, will cauſe more Grief, than all the Towardineſs of the moſt Perfect can out-talk

16. Our Beldam *Eve*, to ſave her longing, ſold us ll for an Apple; and ſtill as we fall into the ſame deires, *apprehending felicities in things we never tried*, we re carried away by her peeviſh *Daughters*, the true Syrens wiſe *Ulyſſes* ſtopt his Ears againſt, who under Pretence of Pleaſure and Love, lead us into Dens and obſcure Holes of the Rocks, where we conſume our precious Time and bury our Parts, (which, might enble us to Deſpiſe or Honour this World as beſt ſuited our Complexions) feeding, all our Lives, upon the dry Bones of Want and Affliction, and like *Acteon*, torn

torn by our Families: Nothing being more certain than that a *married Man* changeth the Shape of Nature, Freedom, and inroles himself among such as are rendred Beasts of Burthen under Reason of State; where those unclog'd with this Yoke, if they like not the Service and Discipline of their own, may the easier exchange it for that of any other Commonwealth.

17. Tho' nothing can wholly disengage *Marriage* from such *Inconveniences*, as may obstruct Felicity, yet they are best palliated under a *great Estate*; all other Arguments for it receiving commonly Confutation from Time and Experience, or are evaporated by Fruition; *Birth* imposing a Necessity of Charge, and *Beauty* doth of Jealousie, if not of a bad Report; Innocency being often found too weak to guard it self from the Poyson of Tongues.

18. The true extent of *her Estate* therefore is first to be surveyed, before you entail your self upon the Owner: And, in this common Fame is not to be trusted, which for the most part dilates a *Portion* or *Joynture* beyond its natural Bounds, proving also not seldom litigious, and *that* found *given by Will*, questionable; by which Husbands are tied to a Black-Box, more miserable than that of *Pandora*; there being in the Law hope of nothing but Trouble and Injustice. Neither do *Widows* seldom put their *Estates* out of their own Reach, the better to cheat their Husbands, perverting so far the course of Nature, as to make him thrash for a Pension, who ought to Command all. This requires *Love* to be ushered into his undissolvable Noose, by Discretion, since it hath rarely fallen within the compass of Example, that both Parties (if wise) should be cordially pleased with their bargain: Therefore the *Yoke* of *Marriage* had need be lined with the richest stuff, and softest outward conveniencies, else it will gall your Neck and Heart, so, as you shall take little comfort in the Vertue, Beauty, Birth, *&c.* of her to whom you are coupled.

16. As

19. As the fertility of the enſuing year is gueſſed at, the height of the River *Nilus*, ſo by the *greatneſs a Wives Portion* may much of the future conjugal ppineſs be calculated: For, to ſay truth, *a poor arriage*, like a Father's Theft or Treaſon, entails ame and miſery upon Poſterity, who receive little armth from the Virtue, much leſs from the Beauty their Mother.

The beſt of Husbands are Servants, but he that takes *Wife* wanting *Mony*, is a ſlave to his Affection, doing e baſeſt of Drudgeries without wages. Experience ies in the Streets that he who takes his *Maid* into the arriage bed, finds her no leſs imperious a Miſtreſs, an he that is coupled in the higeſt Link. For ſuch as ring nothing, eſteem themſelves ſlighted, if they ommand not all; whereas better Educations are apter confeſs an Obligation, than thoſe baſely born.

20. Yet take one who thinks herſelf rather *beneath* han above you in *Birth*: ſince *Honourable Perſons*, as reported of *Eagles Feathers*, in a *Bed*, conſume all ot of the ſame plume: *Riches* were in a like predicament, in relation to *Pride*, but eaſier paſſed by, becauſe eſt able to bear the charges of her own Folly; whereas *Lean Honour*, like *Pharaoh*'s *Kine*, devours the *Gen-y* with whom they match, by multiplying the quanity of their Expences.

21. I confeſs *Vaſt Eſtates* are not ſo ſenſible of the nconveniences of *poor Marriages*; as having, beſides greater Diverſions, the ſtaff of Power to keep the lean Wolf from the Door: *Want* being no leſs the original of moſt Sins, than the Mother of all Plagues; ſo as the depth of *Poverty* calling upon the bottomleſs Pit of *Deſpair*, tempts the ill-bred *Son*, for want of better ducation (to change a Life, he thinks cannot be made more wretched) to *Marry* the Chamber-Maid; by which the no leſs unadviſed Daughter learns to run away with the *Groom*. Do not the careful Looks of all Fathers give evidence to the truth of that ſaying,

Children

Children are uncertain Comforts, but certain Troubl

22. Therefore (*dear Son*) if you find your self smi ten with this Poyſoned Dart, imitate his Pruden who choſe rather to caſt himſelf into the Arms of t Sea, and Travel, than to let his Hopes and Parts w ther in thoſe of a poor whining *Dido*, who is more able to give you Caution, for the continuan of her own Affection, than you are of yours, or her Beauty.

23. I have heard a *well-built Woman* compared, i her motion, to a Ship under Sail; yet I would advi no wiſe man to be her Owner, if her Fraught be n thing but what ſhe carries between Wind and Wate

A neat Wench, like a fair Picture, may adorn a Roo for a General Commerce, or like a painted Inn-poſ may tempt you as a Stranger, to while away ſom ſcorching hours; but to hang her in your Heart, an turn Hoſt to a bare Holly-Buſh, is ſo high a Blaſphem againſt Diſcretion, that it would not only exceed re pentance, but pity and forgiveneſs, eſpecially in rela tion to you, who have had theſe Rocks marked out o all ſides, by the Advice or Splinters of an indulgen Father.

24. But if once you render your ſelf a Pupil t whining *Love*, he will read you ſuch contrary Poli- ticks, as ſhall perſwade you to make a League wit Miſery, and embrace Beggery for a Friend; and after this, you are capable of no higher Honour, than to be Regiſtred in one of his Martyrological Ballads, and ſung by Dairy Maids to a pitiful Tune.

25. To conclude, if you will needs be a Familiſt, and *Marry*, muſter not the *want of Iſſue* among your greateſt afflictions, as thoſe do, that cry, *Give me Children, or elſe my Name dies*; the pooreſt way of Immortalizing that can be, and as natural to a Cobler as a Prince, and not ſeldom out-reacht by a Grave- ſtone: This proves them no Fools that make their own choice, by *Adoption*, out of the Maſs of Huma-

nity,

y, not confining themſelves to ſuch as the doubtful
ance of *Marriage* obliged them to; ſince *Wives* do
rſe than miſcarry, that go their full time of a Fool
h a boſſive Birth; yet leſs Uglineſs reſides in the
ateſt perſonl Deformity, than in an ordinary Mulct
the Mind; nor can there be a greater diſſemblance
ween one wiſe man and another, tho ſtrangers in
od, than daily falls out betwixt them and their own
e; ſo as it is rarely obſerved, that a Prudent Father
gets a like Son; in which, Nature proclaims, Things
Moment not made for *Stallions*, and to bury their
h Talents in the tedious Commerce and loathſom
ets of a ſilly Woman. And if we conſult right Rea-
n, not Opinion, more of our Blood runs in a Bro-
er than a Child; the ſurer ſide being always a ſtranger
the Family; the truth is, they are really no more ours,
an the curles of our Hair, or the parings of our Nails,
rrying often ſuch thought towards us, as we ſhould
teſt any for, but them; made ours rather by Uſe
an Nature, as appears in the reſt of God's Creatures,
ho look no longer after their young, than whileſt
ey are unable to ſhift for themſelves: This alſo
eaks an immoderate Sorrow for their Loſs, as im-
ertinent, as the like Deſire to procure them; none
ing truly capable of Felicity, that ſituate it out of
e Extent of their own Reach, or are over-paſſionate-
affected with other Foreign Miſery, than what doth
urely belong to themſelves.

26. But if this ſavours too much of the *Stoick*, you
ay qualifie it as you pleaſe; for I doubt not, but the
eal your *Youth* doth yet retain towards the Creed
d Practice of others (poſſibly not ſo well taught)
ay at preſent make much of *This* look like *Blaſphemy*;
ut when ſo many Winters have ſnowed on your Head,
on your Fathers, you will think it *Canonical, and*
to be read to Poſterity.

To

To the *Women Readers*, concerning the foregoing Diſcourſe of *Love* and *Marriage*.

THO' the multitude, that Croud of Errour and Miſtakes, like Corn, hang their Ears, and ſituate their Judgments, not according to the conſtant Aſpect of Reaſon, but the mutable and ſenleſs Inſpiration of Fools and Criticks, commonly their Nurſes, and according to whoſe Dialect this childiſh Monſter is taught to prate; yet I did not apprehend it ſo deaf to its own intereſt, and the pitiful Voice of woful Experience, as to imagine any thing, looking like a Mote in the Felicity of a Married Man, *which becomes not a Beam in the more tender Eye of a* Wife; *to whom the Cruelty of a Tyrannical Cuſtom hath allotted the heavieſt, and moſt uneaſie end of the Chain: Thought by me ſufficiently intimated in that* Epiſtle, *ſet on purpoſe* (in the former Editions) *before this Section of* Love *and* Marriage, *to ſtay the Reader from any Miſpriſion, the drowſieſt Ignorance could lead him into, for want of that Counterpain relating to* Women; *looked upon, at that time, as impertinent to inſert, the Party I then laboured for to Arm, being a* Son.

Therefore I hope I ſhall not need to implore all the Candor *attending your other* Excellencies, *whoſe ſmalleſt Skirt will be ſufficient to cover me from the Strife of Tongues, voicing this a new-caught-up Opinion, or, that I deteſt more, a baſe* Recantation; *by which I ſhould foully betray a Heart no leſs ready to be your Foot-ſtool in Age, than it was one of your Triumphant Chariots during Youth: This being meerly intended to ſtay the looſe Rabble from dropping into any further prejudice of my Innocency, by an equal ballancing of the Accounts of* Marriage; *ſeldom reaching the Content of both, eſpecially where the* Groom *is wholly led in by* Love, *and the* Bride *hath nothing more permanent to accompany her, than* Beauty *and* Youth.

For

For if the Master *of the* Cabin *finds a* Bedfellow *with her Concomitance, not only troublesom to stow, but an impediment inconsistent with his own Safety, during such a rough Storm of Intestine* War, *as my Quill was tossed in when first laden with this* Advice, *His* Mate *cannot in ordinary Discretion, be imagined to lie easie, who besides* her *own particular Grievances, hath his Dangers also to affright her; and by buring the Regency of a* Mistress *in the Vassalage of* Marriage, *doth not only grow less in the former Esteem her* Husband *had of her, whilest he lay under the strongest Incantation of an unsatisfied Desire, but ventures the forfeiture of that Ancient Charter, by which* Free Beauty *is allowed a Pasport through all Nations where Civility or Honour Commands: Rendring her self in all Distempered Times (where single she might remain in a harmless Neutrality) obnoxious to an ill Treatment from the contrary Party to that her Owners Fortune, Folly or Friendship hath contracted him to.*

Thus, like the Angels *sent to the rescue of* Lot, Women *do not only run the Hazard of their own Contamination by* Marriage, *to draw Men out of the Sins, no less than Punishments impending the Barren and Unnatural Delights of Solitude, but alter their Shapes, and embase their Celestial* Beauties, *when by discharging their* Husbands of the Venom of Love, *they swell themselves into the Bulk and Dangers of* Childbearing; losing *their own* Name *and their* Families, *to perpetuate that of a meer* Stranger: *And besides all this, they, in their highest Ruff, can be looked upon but as* the best of Servants; *having nothing* theirs, *in a more proper Sense, than a Child hath, whose Father allows him to call any thing* His, *tho' without Leave he may not dispose of the smallest part. Nor, in case of Melancholy* Discontent, *(not seldom haunting every Corner of their Family, which* Women *are tyed to Cure, or keep Company with) can they find such ready and safe Diversions, as the Ways of* Men *are in all places strewed withal; who being freer from* Fear or Shame *(shackles which Mens own Law and Custom, not Nature or Justice hath cast in the way of the* Wives *Felicity) they meet such Content abroad,*

as

as is with-held from your Sex *under the Key of Conſcience, or covered from your Deſires by the Veil of* Modeſty, *or not impoſſibly laid beyond Reach, for want of ſo eaſie Steps of Opportunity.*

Yet beſides theſe viſible Diſadvantages, Married Women *lye under a number that deſerve the Name of corroding* Plagues, *which the ſeverity of their Modeſty, by Cuſtom made Natural, forbids them to reveal, and againſt whoſe Tyrannical Juriſdiction they may be thought to Rebel, that ſhould endeavour to muſter them up: For in a ſmall time the* Patient *obtains his Cure, and the* Phyſitian *becomes affected with the ſame Deſires, Fruition hath diſcharged the* Husband *of; who doth conſider his own remedy as a Drug eaſily matched, if not exceeded, by ſuch as may be found under every Hedge; laying it aſide, like a perfumed Glove, with whoſe ſweetneſs his Senſes are ſo ſated by Uſe, as he can apprehend little Delight in it; tho' Strangers, whoſe Eyes are not bleared by* Fruition, *look upon her as the* Sun, *which retains the ſame Splendor ſhe had at firſt, not being* Eclipſed *ſo much from any* Defect *of Nature in it ſelf, as by the Clouds ariſing in the* Husband's *Fancy, from a daily Commerce; through which, tho' his* Love *be diminiſhed, the* Wives *is increaſed, if not from Affection, yet by an Impoſition of Neceſſity;* Men *being to be numbred among ſuch* Diſeaſes, *as are ſometime continued with a leſs train of inconveniencies than parted withal. Whereas if that* Sweet Sex *remained ſtill in the ſtate of Innocency, not contemplating any other Perfections but their own, they might be adored for* Beauty *during Youth, and reverenced for* Virtue *in Age: And by putting this reſtraint upon the Felicity of* Men, *bring them to an Honourable Compoſition, as the* Sabine-Ladies *did the* Romans.

To conclude, if Men, *the moſt abſolute Maſters of their Choice and Employments, find occaſion of* Diſcontent, *under this* undiſſolvable Conjunction, *who can value* Womans *diſadvantage, whoſe Actions, no leſs than their intrinſecal Deſires muſt be ſubject to, and wait the leiſure of their* Husbands?

ADVICE

ADVICE to a SON.

III. *Travel.*

SOme to ſtarch a more ſerious face upon wanton, impertinent, and dear-bought Vanity, cry up *Travel*, as *the beſt Accompliſher of Youth and Gentry*, tho' detected by Experience in the generality, for *the greateſt Debaucher*; adding Affectation to Folly, and Atheiſm to the Curioſity of many not well principled by Education: Such Wanderers imitating thoſe Factors of *Solomon*, that together with Gold, returned Apes and Peacocks.

They, and only they, *advantage* themſelves by *Travel*, who, well fraught with the Experience of what their own Country affords, carry over with them large and thriving Talents, as thoſe Servants did, commended by our Saviour: For he that hath nothing to venture but poor, deſpicable and ſolitary Parts, may be ſo far from Improvement, as he hazards quite to loſe and bury them in the external *Levity* of *France*, *Pride* of *Spain*, and *Treachery* of *Italy*; becauſe not being able to take acquaintance abroad of more Prudence, than he meets with in the Streets and other Publick Places, the activity of his Legs and Arms may poſſibly be augmented, and he, by tedious Compliments, become more acceptable in the eyes of ſilly Women, but uſeleſs, if not pernicious, to the Government of his own County, in creating doubts and diſlikes by way of a partial Compariſon.

2. Yet ſince it *advanceth Opinion in the World*, without which Deſert is uſeful to none but it ſelf (Scholars

and Travellers being cried up for the higheſt Gradu ates in the moſt univerſal Judgments) I am not muc unwilling to give way to Peregrine motion for a time Provided it be in *Company of an Ambaſſador, or Perſo of Quality*; by whoſe power the Danger may be re bated, no leſs than your Charge of Diet defrayed inconſiderable in ſuch a Retinue, as Perſons of thei Magnitude are forced to entertain.

3. Or if your Genius (tempted by Profit) inclin to the life of a *Merchant*, you have the Law of Nati ons, and Articles of a reciprocal Amity to protect yo from other inconveniencies, than ſuch as indiſcretio draws upon raſh and unadviſed Strangers.

And thus mann'd out, Your Experience may receiv Lading at the firſt hand, when others, failing of th like Advantages, muſt take up that little they mak at the common Beam; yet pay more Cuſtom, and ru greater hazards than the whole Return, when caſt up is able to compenſe,

4. Or in-caſe this Nation ſhould again break out i to *Partialities* it may not be ill prudence, to go whe you may have the proſpect of the *War* with ſafet whoever prevail: And for the Place, I ſay *France*, you have a Purſe; elſe ſome Town in the *Netherlan* or *Flanders*, that is wholeſom and ſafe; where *Fren* may be attained with little more difficulty than *Paris*; neither are the Humors of the People ſo ver remote from your own.

Now if it be your Fortune, on any ſuch like Ac counts to leave your native Country, take theſe *Direc ons* from a *Father*, wearied (and therefore poſſibl made wiſer) by *Experience*.

5. Let not the Irreligion of any Place breed in yo a neglect of *Divine Duties*; Remembring, God hear the Prayers of *Daniel* in *Babylon*, with the ſame Atten tion he gave to *David* in *Sion*.

6. Shun all *Diſputes*, but *concerning Religion* eſpecia ly; becauſe that which Commands in chief, tho' Fal

an

and erroneous, will, like a Cock on's own Dunghil, line her Arguments with force, and drive the Stranger out of the Pit with insignificant Clamours. All Opinions, not made Natural by Complexion, or imperious Education, being equally ridiculous to those of contrary Tenets.

But where you find such Discourse, unavoidably obtruded, mould your Arguments rather into Queries, than dogmatical Assertions; professing it *more the business of Travellers, to Learn than Teach*: This, besides the removal of Jealousies, will proclaim you Civil, and not bury the hope of a future Complyance; muzling the mouths of the rigid Zelots (who think none worthy of Life, found out of the Train of their own Opinions) no less than engaging the more moderate, rather to pity you, as one misled, than accuse you for wilful and contumacious: Observing herein *the Prudence of our Saviour*, who prohibits the casting of Pearls before such, as are more likely to employ them to your Damage, than their own Edification: And therefore Silence ought not in Reason to be reckon'd for a desertion of Truth, where it cannot be maintained, but to the prejudice of what the Imperative Power hath declared so to be.

A *Sceptick humour*, as it is most sutable to any *Man* out of Power, so especially if he Travels; less offence being taken at *Doubters*, than such as boldly undertake to Determine; there not always remaining a necessity, either in Religion or Descretion, to give a *positive Answer*; as appears by *Christ*, who *did not seldom oppose one ambiguous Question against another no less dangerous to resolve*: Therefore you may be as well a Murderer as a Martyr, if you run unadvisedly into Ruin.

7. Keep your *Zeal* chain'd for a Guard to your Conscience, not letting it fly upon such things as Custom hath not made it familiar withal, (Remembring, that the *Sadducees*, who denied Angels and Spirits, are not Registred for such implacable Enemies to our Saviour,

as the *Phariſees*, who confeſſed both:) The fury of which Paſſion hath tranſported ſome ſo far, as to ſtrike the *Euchariſt* out of the Prieſts hands, that carried it, chooſing, like giddy *Phaetons*, to burn, rather than not manifeſt themſelves (unſeaſonably) the Children of God.

8. Do not imitate their follies, who conceit themſelves bound in Honour to *aſſert* all *Cuſtoms* uſed in the Places they come from; which, beſides contraction of Quarrels, brands ſuch Sophiſters with the imputation of a partial Incivility: *Cuſtom* being of that inſinuating nature, as it can convert into the ſhape of Comelineſs, Diet, Apparel, Geſtures, Opinions and Sins, that to a Stranger, may appear moſt diſtaſtful, ugly, uncouth and unnatural: This renders a Defence of the Errors of your own Country as undecent, as the too loud proclaiming of them is ſhameful and unworthy.

As it is neither mannerly nor ſafe to *diſcommend* anything uſed abroad, ſo likewiſe is it diſadvantagious; for by *Commendation* you ſhall the better ſcrue out the true Opinion themſelves have of it, which upon your *diſlike* will be concealed, or heightned, out of ſhame or oſtentation.

9. Fall not into *Compariſons*; For what doth it concern the advancement of Wiſdom, whether *London* or *Paris*, St. *Mark*'s Church or *Paul*'s be the faireſt? The like modeſty muſt be obſerved at your return home; leſt you ſhould ſeem to have loſt, in your *Travel* through other Nations, the Natural Affection ſo juſtly due to your Own; which may raiſe ſuſpicion of a change, either in your Religion or Allegiance.

10. *Condemn* none with too much *ſeverity*, you find in never ſo palpable an *Error of Judgment or Manners* (which for the moſt part are meerly reſpective to Time and Place) leſt you ſhould bait a Trap with a Precedent ſtrong enough one day, to catch your ſelf: All things we ſtile *Sin*, lying in the bowels of Men, as Metals do in the Earth, under an equal party, till

Policy,

Policy, for the benefit of Commerce, ſtamps them with the Image of the *Devil*, and on their Ranverſe, *Punniſhment* and *Shame*: No more proper to them by Nature, than for Gold or Silver to bear the Impreſs and Superſcription of a Prince, before it be Coined, and made Current, or Prohibited by *Law*, the *Maſter of the Mint*, in relation to *Good* and *Evil*.

Tho' it may ſuit no leſs with your Years, than mine that adviſe you, to follow ſuch *faſhions in Apparel*, as are in uſe as well at home as a abroad, thoſe being leaſt gazed on that go as moſt men do; yet it cannot be juſtified before the face of Diſcretion, or the Charity due to your own Country-men, to eſteem no *Doublet* well made, nor *Glove* worth wearing, that hath not paſſed the hands of a *French Taylor*, or retains not the Scent of a *Spaniſh Perfumer*. A Vanity found incident to *England*, and the People, our ordinary account reckons *Eaſt* of us: A ſtrong preſumption, the laſt arrived within the Pale of Civility, elſe they would be more confident of their own *Inventions*, had they not ſtill freſh in Memory, from whence they derived the Arts of *Building*, *Cloaths*, *Behaviour*, &c. A Fancy, tho' fooliſh, yet eaſier excuſed, did not aſcend to the more rare, and uſeful *Endowments of the Mind*, ſo far as to put a miraculous eſtimation upon the *Writings of Strangers*, and a baſe Alloy on better of *their own*: Since, upon a ſtrict examination, the moiſt Heads of theſe colder Climates may be found to have dropped as pure Reaſon, as the nearer approach of the Sun was ever yet able to draw from the more toſted Brains of *Spain*, *Italy*, or *France*. Therefore lanch not too ſuddenly into a rough and deep *Cenſure* of ſuch *Authors*, as you find go contrary to the high Tide of Opinion for the preſent, leſt compell'd to a Retractation, you confeſs your ſelf apt to be miſled by the common prejudice daily found in the ways of deſert: As ſuch muſt needs be, that would have Caſheered *Bacon*'s *Advancement of Learning*, as an Heretical and impertinent piece, but

for an invincible ſtrength of contrary Judgments that came to his Reſcue from beyond the Seas: *Engliſh* Men bearing a greater Reverence to the *Votes*, and a leſs prejudice to the *Inventions* of *Strangers*, than their own; elſe our *Authors* need not to *Travel* for Repute, eſpecially at that time when our *Pulpits*, no leſs than *Theaters*, condemned of Ignorance all the known World beſides. For however it might be with us in the time of *Edward* the fourth, and notwithſtanding the Character *Philip de Comines* gives to the bluntneſs of the *Engliſh Pens*, were then no hyperbole, yet now no Reader unmuſled by Malice or Ignorance, but muſt acknowledge that the late King did not only in that vanquiſh all near his Rank, that almoſt ever went before him: But hath left many, tho' ſhort of his parts, very well able to grapple with the choiceſt of other Princes Subjects.

11. If the Wiſdom of the *States of Holland* were warily obſerved (who give no other anſwer for the preſent, to any new Propoſition, but *Peut-eſtre*, in *Engliſh*, *It may be ſo*; by which means they civilly evade a peremptory aſſerting or denying the validity of any Argument.) The Hell of the *Inquiſition* would not be ſo repleniſhed with the Souls of poor unadviſed Chriſtians; who, made giddy with an impertinent Zeal, and confident in the Promiſes of the treacherous Jeſuits their Country-Men (that have ways enough to betray you, without diſcovering themſelves) communicate to them *prohibited Books*, in Hope to Convert them (which I adviſe you by no means to carry with you:) This *M. Mole* found true in a tedious and ſharp Captivity, reported to be betrayed by Sir *T. M.* at the Inſtigation of the Lord *R.* to whom he was aſſigned Tutor, by the Earl of *Ex.*

12. To the *Euchariſt*, met in the Streets, (through which it is often born to the Houſes of the Sick,) Cuſtom, no leſs than the Injunction of the Magiſtrate, obligeth all to kneel or bow: The which is if a Sranger neglects,

neglects, he is liable to the Inquisitors: Now if it be an Idol, St. *Paul* saith *an Idol is nothing*; and if it renders the Meat Offered unto it no ways distastful to a sound Conscience, how should it deprave me to be uncovered, as the rest are? It being palliated, if not absolutely decided this way, in case of *Naman*, and the Duke of *Saxony*; whom *Luther* permitted to assist the Emperor *Charles* the Fifth at a Mass, only to Preserve a Temporal Dignity, covering it with the Title of Civil respect.

13. Pity, rather than spurn at those you see prostrate before a *Crucifix*; considering we find it enjoyned, by the Penner of the *Practice of Piety* (too often Printed, to carry the Marks of any thing contrary to the genuine Mind of the *Protestant Church*) that *all Communicants at the Article of their Receiving, should imagine the Posture of Christ upon the Cross.* And if so, doth it not leave room for a Query, who is the most mistaken, he that makes to himself a Representation in his Heart, or on the Wall? Yet this, with the rest, is laid before you only as an Adyiso, not a Stumbling-Block, and Occasion of Offence.

14. Enter no farther into *Foreign Churches* than the hand of your own Religion and Conscience leads you: For, tho' the Body of their *Worship* do not take you, the higher expressions of *Zeal* and *Austerity* (in the precisier sort of Church-men, and People, taken for the Soul of all Professions) may seem to discover some defects in your own; and so, displeased on all sides, you dash upon the Rock of Atheism; as such do, that value the Merits and Sanctity of Christ, by His, who pretends to be his Vicar; and all Moral Virtue by the scant Standard, they find it measured by at *Rome*, where they put out the Eyes of the less advised with the dust of Antiquity, which we seeming to want, are not so catching to those, not wise enough to look behind the Curtain of *Formalities*.

Yet where Conſcience and Reaſon give you leave to *comply* (as poſſibly they may in many things) do it ingenuouſly, without compulſion or dint of an Argument; leſt, oppoſing a Truth upon the By, you give them Cauſe to think you guilty of Falſhood in the Main.

15. Conſort with none who *Scoff* at their own *Religion*, but ſhun them as Spies or Atheiſts; for Strangers honour them moſt, next to thoſe of their reſpective Tenents, that are Modſtly zealous in the obſervation of their own.

16. Eſchew *the company* of all *Engliſh* you find in *Orders*; for as they have imitated the lapſed Angels, in falling from their firſt Station, ſo they bear the like malevolence to all they deſpair of bringing into the ſame Condemnation; being for the moſt part deſpicable, poor and melancholy; the *Proteſtants* eying them as Apoſtates, and the *Catholicks* as Fugitives and unprofitable devourers of the Natives Bread. Thus young *Scholars*, becauſe not able to reach all they deſire at Home, like Prodigals abandon the boſom of their Mother, unadviſedly caſting themſelves into that of want and reproach; Viſcount *Mont*'s Brother being but a Porter to a Religious Houſe, and many of the reſt expoſed to ſuch hard and deſperate Miſſions into the *Indies* and other remote Climates, as their Lives are rendered no leſs tedious than uncertain.

17. Beſides he that beyond Sea frequents his own *Countrymen*, forgets *the principal part of his Errand*, *Language*; and poſſibly the opportunity to get Experience how to manage his Expence; *Frugality* being of none ſo perfectly learned, as of the *Italian* and *Scot*; Natural to the firſt, and as neceſſary to the latter. The *Engliſh* alſo are obſerved abroad more quarrelſom with their own Nation than Strangers, and therefore marked out as the moſt dangerous Companions.

18. An *Injury* in Foreign Air is cheaper paſſed over than revenged, the endeavour of which hath (not ſeldom)

dom) drawn on a greater: Beſides, If Patience and Evaſion be not learned by your *Travel*, the Bills you have taken up may perhaps be diſcharged, as to the Merchant, but quite loſt in regard of any return of Profit to ſuch inconſiderate men, as ſuffer themſelves to be tranſported with their Paſſions; ſince he that is Maſter of them, ſhall act and ſpeak Reaſon, when others, deſtitute of that Moderation, appear mad, uttering nothing but Noiſe.

19. *Play* is deſtructive and fatal to Eſtates every where, but to the Perſons of Gameſters abroad, rendring them the Objects of Cheating and Quarrels; all By-ſtanders being apt to atteſt to the prejudice of a Stranger.

20. He that deſires Quiet, and to decline Quarrels, (undertaken by Strangers upon irreparable diſadvantage) muſt above all, avoid giving or receiving *Favours from Women*; there being none out the Liſt of common Whores, any way acceptable, to which ſome Ruffian (in *Italy* call'd *Braves*, who will murder a Man for a Crown) doth not pretend an intereſt, either as a Husband, a Kinſman, or a Servant: Neither are they ſafely converſed withal, in relation to Health; participating ſo far of the Nature of Devils, that they are not only inſtrumental in the Sin, but many times alſo in the Puniſhment.

Make not the *Promiſe of Marriage* a Baud to your *Luſt*, nor think her Fruit worth owning, ſhall yield poſſeſſion upon no more formal Obligation; preſuming then if ſhe can diſpence with the Ceremony, by which Law only makes her yours, it is no leſs poſſible, that time and the wearifom repetition of the ſame embraces may upon as handſom a provocation, tempt her to change the Subſtance.

He that owns a *Whore* in a more peculiar ſenſe than a common Jakes, deſcends from the dignity of Reaſon: And yet I have known ſome ſo far tranſported as to marry ſuch an one, to the infamy of their Families, no

leſs

leſs than their own future diſcontent; making *a mercenary Woman* Arbitrator and Guardian of their Iſſue; contrary to the wiſer practice of *Spain*, where none are admitted Judges of anothers Intereſt, that have taken Fees as Pleaders themſelves, leſt former Uſe ſhould convert them into Bribes; it being hard to forego a profitable Cuſtom, and as impoſſible to impropriate ſuch Cattle as to monopolize the Air; for the Bar of Honour being once leaped over by that Sex, there remains nothing certain to the owner, but the open Fields of Shame and Repentance.

21. If tempted by an *impatient Affection* to any thing, not without danger or difficulty attained, Catechize your ſelf with this Queſtion, what Wiſh, Fortune or Labour preſented you with, that after a full Fruition, did not ſoon grow tedious, or, at beſt came not far ſhort of what creaking expectation had undertaken it ſhould perform? And let this Contemplation moderate your deſires, That all worldly Profit or Pleaſure is correſpondent to a like meaſure of anxiety and wearifomneſs; therefore let no importunity warp you contrary to right Reaſon and Conveniency, ever arming your Conſtancy againſt Flattery and Impudence, ſtrong Aſſailants, eſpecially marching under the Tears and Carreſſes of a handſom and ſeeming innocent *Woman*, from whom it is no diſhonour to fly, and with whom there is no ſafety to treat, for fear, like blind *Samſon*, you grind out the remainder of your days, between Want and Repentance, and be led in Triumph by her Friends, and thoſe ſuborned to ſeduce you, more ready to ſacrifice the thanks to their own Nets, than to the Eaſineſs of your Nature, to which it is only due.

If any then be furiouſly *enamoured on you*, whoſe Fortune cannot correſpond for the Troubles incident to *Marriage* (which God knows are not a few) venture the loſs of her, rather than your ſelf; it being one of the higheſt pieces of Madneſs, to hang an indiſſolvable Padlock upon your future hopes, only *to ſave a Wenches Longing*;

Longing; with whose ſoft humour miſcarriage is more ſuitable, than a Man's armed with ſo much Advice: Therefore fly from ſuch as incurable Plagues, nothing being more catching to unbyaſſed Nature, than a ſeeming violent Affection; which if not built upon a former promiſe, you may leave her juſtly to the melancholy Society of her own folly; out of which it is all odds but ſhe may happily recover, or imitate the voluptuous Death of that Taylor reported to have whined away himſelf for the Love of Queen *Elizabeth*.

22. Who Travels *Italy*, handſom, young and beardleſs, may need as much caution and circumſpection, to protect him from the *Luſt of Men*, as the *Charms of Women*: An Impiety not to be credited by an honeſt Heart, did not the Ruins of *Sodom*, calcin'd by this unnatural Heat, remain ſtill to witneſs it. And as I have heard, they continue ſo enamoured to this uncouched way of Luſt, (led by what imaginary delight I know not) that ſuch as Age and Weakneſs have ſet beyond the Power of Acting, ſuffer themſelves to be Patients in that noiſom Beſtiality; maintaining to this End Emiſſaries abroad, to entice men of delicate Compexions, to the Houſes of theſe decrepit Lechers; under pretence of an Aſſignation made by ſome Feminine Beauty; and thus enſnared, the poor uncircumſpect young Man cannot with Conſcience do, or ſafety refuſe this baſe Office.

23. Where you never mean to return, extend your *Liberality* at the firſt coming, as you ſee convenient, during your aboads; for what you give at parting is quite loſt.

24. Make no Oſtentation of *carrying* any conſiderable Sum of *Money about you*; leſt you turn that to your Deſtruction, which under God is a Strangers beſt Preſervation: And *Remove* not from Place to Place, but with Company you know: The not obſerving whereof is the Cauſe ſo many of our Countrymens Graves were never known; having been buried in as much Obſcurity as kill'd.

25. *Inns*

25. *Inns* are dangerous, and ſo are all *freſh Acquaintance*, eſpecially where you find their offer of Friendſhip to out-bid a Strangers Deſert: The ſame may be ſaid of *Servants*; not to be entertained upon ordinary Commendations.

26. Next to Experience, *Languages* are the Richeſt Lading of a Traveller; among which *French* is moſt uſeful, *Italian* and *Spaniſh* not being ſo fruitful in Learning, (except for the Mathematicks and Romances) their other Books being gelt by the Fathers of the Inquiſition.

27. He that is carried by his Curioſity under the Juriſdiction of the *Turk*, or other *Mahumetan* Princes, ſhall be uſed (as they eſteem him) like a Dog; and ſo to be armed with a more invincible Patience, than commonly accompanies a Man free-born; inſomuch as a I heard a Kinſman ſay, who had been a *Jeruſalem*, That the richeſt Experience he brought from thence, could not in the leaſt Proportion recompence the Trouble he met with, bringing Home certain Marks of the Incivility of the People, for an uncertain Diſcovery of the Places fam'd for *Chriſt*'s Death and Burial: And tho' he thought he merited by it (a Conceit I know uncapable of Place in your Head) yet no Reward could hire him to repeat again thoſe weary Steps: Therefore I adviſe you to believe rather what you may read in your Study, than go thither to diſprove it.

28. I can ſay little of *Plantations*, having had no Experience of them: But that he, which changeth his own Country, ſhall not, in my Mind, do ſo well, to go farther from the Sun, or where he may not at leaſt ſhare in the *Government*.

ADVICE

ADVICE to a SON.

IV. *Government.*

1. CONtract not the common diſtemper, incident to vulgar Brains, who ſtill imagine more eaſe from ſome *untried Government*, than that they lie under; not having paſſed the firſt Form of Experience, where we may learn, that *Tyranny is no leſs Natural to power, than luſt to Youth.*

If happy for the preſent, 'tis no better than madneſs to endeavour a *Change*; if but indifferently well, folly: For tho' a Veſſel may yield the more for tilting or ſtirring, it renders all in it unpleaſant to the preſent uſe: The Die of *War* ſeldom turning to their advantage, that firſt caſt it; ſuch therefore as cannot make all well, diſcharge their Conſcience in wiſhing it ſo; Government being the care of Providence, not mine. But if it be your Fortune to fall under ſuch *Commotions*, imitate not the wild *Iriſh* or *Welch*, who during Eclipſes, run about beating kettles and pans, thinking their clamour and vexations available to the aſſiſtance of the higher Orbs, tho' they advance nothing but their own miſeries, being often maimed, but at beſt laied by, without reſpect or reward, ſo ſoon as the State is returned to it's former ſplendor: Common Souldiers reſembling Cocks, that fight for the benefit and ambition of others, more than their own: This proves it the wholſomer Counſel, to ſtay within Doors, and avoid ſuch malignant Affects, as People attribute to the ſuppoſed Diſtempers of the Superior Planets. But if forced to take a Stream, let it be

that

that which leads to the Desires of the *Metropolis*, t chief City being for the most part preserved, w ever Prevails, in a Civil Commotion, abounding Mony and Friends, the readiest Commodities to pu chase Quiet.

2. Be not the *Pen or Mouth of a Multitude* congr gated by the gingling of their Fetters; lest a Pa don or a Compliance knock them off, and leave yo as the Soul of that Deformed Body, hanging in th Hell of the Law, or to the Vengeance of an exasp rated Power; but rather have Patience, and see th Tree sufficiently shaken, before you run to scramb for the Fruit; lest Instead of Profit and Honour, yo meet with a Cudgel or a Stone; and then (if possible seem to fall in, rather out of Compulsion, than De sign: Since the Zeal of the Rabble is not so soon heate by the real Oppressions of their Rulers, but may b easily cooled by the Specious Promises and Breach o Authority. Wherefore nurse not *Ambition* with *you own Blood*, nor think the Wind of Honour strong e nough to blow away the reproachful Sense of a shame ful, if possibly that of a violent Death; for if *Solo mon*'s Rule be true, That *a Living Dog is better tha a Dead Lion*, a quick Evasion cannot but be deemed more Man-like than a buried Valour.

3. A *Multitude* inflamed under a *Religious* Pretence, are at first as unsafely opposed, as joyned with; re sembling Bears exasperated by the Cry of their Whelps, and do not seldom, if unextinguished by Hope or Delays, consume all before them, to the ve ry thing they intend to preserve: *Zeal*, like the Rod of *Moses*, devouring all for Diabolical, that dares but appear before it in the same Shape: The inconsiderate Rabble, with the Swine in the Gospel, being more furiously agitated by the discontented Spirits of others, than their own; who cannot be so happy in a Sea of Blood and Devastation, the dire effects of War, as in Peace, tho' invaded with some *Oppression*; a Scab

that

that breaks out oftentimes in the most wholsom constituted Bodies of States, and may with less smart be continued on, than picked off. And because the generality are uncapable, in regard of number, either of reward, or punishment, therefore not of use to the Ambition or Safety of others, but for the present, like Gun-Powder during the flash of their discontent, and as a Lock in a River, are only of force upon the first opening to drive on the design of Innovation; losing themselves afterwards in a more universal dilatation, either out of weariness, or doubt of the consequence.

4. The Example of *Brutus*, rather than *Cato*, is to be followed in *bad times*; it being safer to be patient, than active, or appear a Fool, than a Malecontent: An Evasion not only justified in the Person of *David*, and by the Eloquence of *Paul* before his Heathen Judges, but our Saviour himself is not heard to inveigh against the present *Power*, tho' it had made the Head of the *Baptist* the Frolick to a Feast.

Own the *Power*, but not the *Fault* of the *Magistrate*; nor make *Law*, assigned for a Buckler to defend your self, a Sword to hurt others; lest Partiality should allure you to pass the Sentence of Approbation upon any thing unwarantable in its own Nature. Neither let any Formalities used at a mimical Tribunal (as that was, set up in the case of *Naboth*) perswade you to more than a passive compliance: Since such may seem to make greater, rather than diminish the wages of their iniquity, that seek to cover Rapine with a Gown; which the Sword might patronize with more decency: And this observed, the People might cheaper receive all their Injury at the first hand, which these Retailers of wickedness utter at more intolerable rates: The result of all is, *Ahab* might better have committed Murther single, than render so many Accessary, under the formal pretence of a Religious Fast, *&c.*

5. *Before*

5. *Before you fix*, Conſult all the Objections Diſcr tion is able to make; but *once reſolved*, deſert no your Party upon Acceſs of a Fever, as many melan choly Spirits did theſe Wars; who, by their ofte and unſeaſonable flittings, wore themſelves ſo out o both ſides, as they were not worth owning, whe Succeſs undertook for them, that they did turn in ear neſt: Irreſolution redring Pardon more difficult from either Faction, than it could have proved, had they remained conſtant to any: Diveſting themſelves o the Enſigns of *Fidelity*, looked upon by all with the Eyes of pity, and do often meet with Honour, ſeldom fail of Forgiveneſs, from a Noble Enemy, who cannot but befriend Virtue, tho' he hath found it in Arms againſt him. Yet if you perceive the Poſt you have contracted, to totter, through undermining Treachery or weakneſs, you may purchaſe your preſervation by all honeſt endeavours: For he that prolongs his Life by the forfeiture of a *Truſt* he has undertaken, Husbands it worſe, than if he buried it in the Field of Honour: *Traitors* in all Ages being equally deteſted on both ſides.

6. *Submit* quietly *to any Power* Providence ſhall pleaſe to mount into the Saddle of Sovereignty, without enquiring into their Right *for Conſcience ſake*, or their Birth in relation of Honour; Remembring, that not only *David*, but the moſt famous for Succeſs, did not only cut-off others Lines, but were Natural Shepherds under the Cope of Heaven, before they attained to be Metaphorically ſo under the Canopy of the Chair of State; which once poſſeſſed, clarifies the preſent Incumbent's Title from the greateſt imputations incident to Birth or Proceeding. And the many-headed Beaſt, the Multitude, is ſeldom more, ſometimes leſs gall'd and vexed by the new, than the old Saddle or Riders: Who, out of their greater Experience of her brutiſh Patience, are more apt to load her with the the Trappings of Power, and the Furniture

ſutable

ıtable to a Throne; whoſe Inventory Pride increaſ-
ath proportionable to continuance, and the preſump-
ion they have of their own Ability to keep the Peo-
le from attempting their Remove. This may ren-
er it indifferent to a wiſe Man, what Card is Trump;
hoſe Game may poſſibly prove as fair under Clubs as
Diamonds; neither ought he to be troubled whether
is Fetters conſiſt of Many Links, or but One.

7. If Authority exacts an *Acknowledgment* from you,
ive it with all readineſs: It being the higheſt Frenzy
o diſpute your Innocency with thoſe able to convert
he greateſt into a Fault: For, if it be no diſhonour to
ubmit to Thieves, if fallen into their Hands; Let
ot the example of a few Fools (who, like Lice, thrive
owhere ſo well as in a Priſon) tempt you to oppoſe
our Felicity againſt the Imperative Power, under
hich the diſpoſure of your Perſon doth wholly re-
ain, and therefore madneſs to deny it Words.

I abhor the Idolatry of the Heathen, yet cannot
ut mind you of their Humility, in adoring any thing
he People ſet up, tho' but hewed out of the Body of
n Oak, moſt auſpicious unto Swine, and Principally
fter ſhaking by ſuch Storms as Devils are reported
o have raiſed: Therefore if you may enjoy the Li-
erty of your own Conſcience and Eſtate, queſtion
ot the Deſert or Right of thoſe, under whom you
lo it.

8. He that ſuffers his *Conſcience* to miſlead him in
ivil Obedience, makes his Guide a Stumbling-block;
ot conſidering that *All Governments now extant had
heir foundations laid in the dirt*, tho' time may have
ried it up by Oblivion, or flattering Hiſtorians
icked it off.

Think it no diſparagement to your Birth or Diſ-
retion, to give Honour to *freſh Families* who cannot
e denied to have aſcended by the ſame ſteps, thoſe
id we ſtile *Ancient*: *New* being a Term only reſpect-
ng Us, not the World: For what is, was before Us,

and will be when we are no more: War follows Peace, and Peace War, as Summer doth Winter, and Foul Weather Fair: Neither are any Ground more in this Mill of Viciſſitudes, than ſuch *obſtinate Fools* as glory in the Repute of *State-Martyrs* after they are Dead; which concerns them leſs than what was ſaid 100 Years before they were Born: It being the greateſt odds, Their Names ſhall not be Regiſtred, or if they be, after Death they are no more ſenſible of the Honour, than *Alexander*'s great Horſe, or any Beaſt elſe, his Maſters Indulgence or the Writers, are pleaſed to Record. Neither in a ſtrict Senſe, do they deſerve ſuch Honour, for being able to date their Poſſeſſions from before the *Conqueſt*; Since if any be due, it wholly belongs to them that were Buried in the Ruins of their Countries Liberty, and not to ſuch as help'd to make their Graves, as in all likelihood moſt did whom the *Normans* ſuffered to remain. Therefore 'its madneſs to place our felicity out of our own reach, or to meaſure Honour or Repute by any other Standard than the Opinion we conceive of it our ſelves: It being impoſſible to find a general agreement in any good or evil Report; The Reign of Queen *Elizabeth* being no leſs traduced, than that of *Richard* the Third is juſtified.

Be not therefore liquoriſh after *Fame*, found by Experience to carry a Trumpet, that doth for the moſt part congregate more Enemies than Friends.

If you duly conſider the *Inconſtancy of Common Applauſe*; and how many have had their *Fame* broken upon the ſame Wheel that raiſed it, and puffed out by their Breath that kindled the firſt Report of it, you would be as little elevated with the Smiles, as dejected by the Frowns of this gawdy Goddeſs, formed like *Venus*, out of no more ſolid Matter than the Foam of the People, found by Experience to have Poyſoned more than ever ſhe cured; being ſo volatile, as ſhe is unable of Fixation in the richeſt Jewels of Nature,

Nature, Virtue or Grace: The Compoſition of that Body wholly conſiſting of Contradictions, no readier to ſet up this Day, than ſhe may be to pull down the next: This renders it the loweſt Puerility to be pleaſed or angry at *Reports*; Good being inflamed, and Evil quenched, by nothing ſooner than a conſtant Neglect.

9. *Oſtentation of Birth*, at no time decent, cannot in this be Safe, wherein the very Foundations of *Honour* are not only ſhaken but laid bare: Beſides, many are ſo abuſed in the Sound of their own, or their Fathers *Titles*, that by buſtling for the upper end, they often render that a Shame, which in it ſelf is no Crime: As for example, If the Son of the *Common-Hunt* (in *Engliſh*, the Lord Mayors Dog-Keeper) by Reaſon of the Title of Eſquire annext to his Place, ſhould conſider himſelf as a Man of Worſhip, *&c.* Were it not Ridiculous? When, God knows, the Appellation is uſed for the Honour of the City, not the Perſon that wears it. The ſame might be ſaid of all Mechanick Places at Court, which to render them the more vendible, were Blazoned with the falſe Alchimy of a like Title; ſo far from advancing Repute, that it ſets it back in the Opinion of all Judicious Men: Obſerve how ridiculous ſuch Animals are, to Pride themſelves in the Shadow and Tail of Honour, when the Subſtance is vaniſhed, and the Head—*&c.*

10. Deſpiſe none for *meanneſs of Blood*, yet do not ordinarily make them your Companions, for debaſing your own; unleſs you find them clarified by excellent Parts, or gilded by Fortune or Power: *Solomon* having ſent the *Sluggard to the Piſmire* to learn Induſtry, and to the *Living Dog* rather than the *Dead Lyon*, for Protection.

11. It cannot be looked upon as an Act of prudence, *to do more for another, than in Reaſon may be expected from him again* upon a like occaſion; unleſs ſo far as I am obliged to it out of *Gratitude:* And no farther can

my Prince or any one elſe expect aſſiſtance from me; for if I have not my Livelihood by him, I cannot apprehend any cauſe why I ſhould expoſe it for him, eſpecially if I may with any probability be happy and keep it without him. And becauſe moſt of the firſt Proprietors of Government, in our days, and long before, have aſcended the Throne at the Coſt and Trouble, if not contrary to the Mind of the People they Command, why ſhould any loſe that for their Preſervation, which was never gained by their Benevolence? Therefore if thoſe at the Helm have loſt their Power, and I not able to find a particular Engagement or Intereſt ſtrong enough to make their good Succeſs inſeparably neceſſary to my preſent or future well-being, I am not bound to go farther on with them, than ſuits with my ſafety, and the ſecurity my Judgement gives, that they are able to bring me off: All we owe to Governors, is Obedience, which depends wholly on Power, and therefore ſubject to follow the ſame Fate and periſh with it: For, Friendſhip can be contracted between none that ſtand ſo far remote from the Line of Parity: Therefore all Superlative Powers are excepted out of this Commerce, becauſe ſituated, in truth or pretence, under a Divine Right, which no intereſt of mine can reach, much leſs procure; Then, being ſo far above us, they can be nothing to us, longer than able to ſupport themſelves: For if they have an extraordinary and particular Eſtabliſhment in Heaven, it were Blaſphemy to think they can be pulled down by any but God; in the oppoſition of whoſe Vengeance I am no more able than willing to ſtand; as thoſe muſt that appear unſeaſonably for them. Beſides, Powers are eſtabliſhed to protect us, who are to live happy under them, not miſerably for them, if poſſibly to be prevented; ſince all ſorts of Government may be reckoned among the reſt of Gods Plagues, poured down upon Men for their oppreſſion and diſobedi-

ence,

ence, in the Primitive Party; which makes our Wills, like *Eves*, ſubject to others.

12. No *Government* can be ſafely *engaged*, by a ſingle Perſon, *beyond Requital*: *Kings* thinking it a diminution of Honour, and *Republicks* a dangerous ſtep to Popularity: Here you may ſee the continual uſe of Circumſpection, ſince 'tis poſſible for Virtue to form a Weapon againſt it ſelf.

If it be dangerous to *over-oblige* a King, it is mortal in relation to a *Free-State*; whoſe Ingratitude, no leſs than Requital, is divided among ſo many, as they are ſcarce capable of Shame or Thanks: Every Particular diſavowing what is generally thought amiſs, and all Faults buried in his Grave, that hath the Fortune to die next. Therefore if poſſible, avoid *Siding*; yet if Compelled, Remember it is deducible, both from the Hiſtory of the great Earl of *Warwick* and *Stanly*, That a King may be as ſafely deſtroy'd as preſerved: And for Common-wealths, they are in nothing more Perfect than Ingratitude: Either Government finding it better Husbandry, to Pardon Enemies, than to Reward Friends.

13. *A Reconciled Enemy* is not ſafely to be *truſted*; yet if any, a Great One: It being eaſier for ſuch to execute their Malice than conceal it.

Imagine few the more capable of *Truſt*, becauſe you have formerly obliged them; nothing being more ordinary than Natures that quit ſuch Scores with Hatred and Treachery: And if you conſider whoſe Hearts have been moſt empty of Pity towards *Unfortunate Princes*, Experience may Preſent you with Millions of ſuch whoſe Hands formerly were filled with their Bounty.

Ignorance Reports of Witches, That they are unable to hurt, till they have received an Alms; which tho' ridiculous in it ſelf, yet in this Senſe verified; That *Charity ſeldom goes to the Gate, but it meets with Ingratitude*: They proving for the moſt part the

greateſt Enemies, that have been bought at the dear-eſt Rates of Friendſhip; which proceeds from the high Pride of Humanity: Therefore be as little flattered to do Good out of Hope of Requital, as I would have you terrified out of Fear of the contrary.

14. Grant, if ever, a *Courteſie* at firſt asking; for as Expedition doubles a Benefit, ſo delay converts it into little leſs than an Injury, and robs you of the Thanks, the Fate of churliſh Natures; whereas ſome, I have known able to apparel their Refuſals in ſuch ſoft Robes of Courtſhip, that it was not eaſie to be diſcerned, whether the Requeſt or Denial were moſt decent.

Do not hackeny out your *Promiſe* to the full Stage of Deſire; leſt tiring in *Performance* and becoming a Bankrupt in Power, you forfeit Repute, and purchaſe certain Enemies for uncertain Friends. Yet when the *Suffrages* of many, in relation to your particular Profit are to be Purchaſed, wiſe Mens Practice hath proved it no indiſcretion to be laviſh in this kind; where the Diſhonour of non-performance with others is quite buried in the greater Benefit accruing to your ſelf; it being as ordinary for Hope to exceed Modeſty in asking, as an engaged Power comes ſhort of the Ability, if not the Will to perform: Therefore in this Caſe you muſt ſupply with Thanks, what you are not able to do in Effect.

15. Be not nice in *Aſſiſting*, with the Advantages Nature or Art may have given you, ſuch as want them; who do not ſeldom in Exchange, part with thoſe of Fortune, to ſuch as can manage their *Advice* well; as they only do, that *never give Counſel till called; nor continue it longer than they find it acceptable.*

If one in Power ask your *Advice* in a buſineſs of Conſequence, it may appear *Raſhneſs*, if not *Folly*, *to anſwer ſuddenly* upon the Place; it not being impoſſible, but that the *deſign* of his *Queſtion* may as well be to try *your* ſufficiency, as to ſtrengthen *his own*: How-

ever

ever ſo much *time* as may be borrowed with ſafety from the emergency of any occaſion, is likelier to encreaſe than abate the weight of a Reſult: And in this interim you may gain leiſure to diſcover, what *Reſolution* ſuits beſt the Mind of the Party, who is commonly gratified moſt by ſuch as comply neareſt with his own Judgment; which 'tis ever Wiſdom to obſerve, where all the *Counſels* given are indifferent. Nor will it ſavour of ſo much reſpect to his Perſon, or Care of his Affairs, to determine *extempore*, as upon *Premeditation*; it being *the Cuſtom of great ones to value things, not proportionable to their worth, but the Swet and Time they coſt.*

16. 'Tis not dutiful nor ſafe *to drive your Prince, by a witty Anſwer, beyond all poſſibility of Reply*; it being more excuſable to appear Rich, than Wiſe at the prejudice of one in Superlative Power; who have their Ears ſo continually ſoftned by Flattery, as they eaſilier bear diminution in their Treaſure, which they look upon as below and without them, than in *Wit, Handſomeneſs, Horſmanſhip*, &c. which their Paraſites have long made them believe are inherent in them. This a *Carver at Court*, formerly in good eſteem with King *James*, found to his prejudice, who being laughed at by him, for ſaying, *The Wing of a Rabbet*, maintained it as congruous as *the Fore-Leg of a Capon*, a Phraſe uſed in *Scotland*, and by himſelf here; which put the King ſo out of Patience, as he never looked on the Gentleman more. The like I have been told of a *Biſhop*, who being reproved by the ſame Prince for *Preaching againſt the Papiſts* during the *Treaty* with *Spain*, replied, *He could never ſay more than His Majeſty had Writ.* Go thy way, quoth the King, and expect thy next *Tranſlation* in Heaven, not from Me; meaning, he would never better his See. This Humour makes theſe Terreſtial Gods more auſpicious to Fools, than thoſe *Solomon* ſaith, *are able to render a Reaſon.*

17. It is not ſafe for a *Secretary* to mend the Copy his Maſter hath ſet him, unleſs owned as from his former Inſpirations, leſt he ſhould grow jealous that you valued your Conceptions before his; who meaſures his Sufficiency by the Latitude of his Employment, not the depth of his Natural Parts. This made the Lord Chancellor *Egerton* the willinger to exchange incomparable Doctor *D.* for the leſs ſufficient, tho' in this more modeſt, Mr. *T. B.*

But in caſe his Affairs be wholly left to your management, you muſt not only look to correſpond for his Miſcarriages, but as obſtinately renounce any Honour may be given you, to his Prejudice: Imputing all to his ſingle Sufficiency, your ſelf owning no higher place than that of the Executioner of his Commands. For tho' *many great Men*, like Properties or Puppets, are *managed by their Servants*; yet ſuch are moſt dear to them, as can ſo carry their hand in their actings, that they make them appear leſs Fools, than in truth they are; eaſily done, by giving them the Honour to *concede or deny in Publick*, without interpoſing any other Arguments againſt it than may become the Mouth of a Servant, however you may order him in *Private.*

18. *Write* not the *Faults* of Perſons near the Throne, in any Nation you reſide in, leſt your Letters ſhould be intercepted, and you ſent out of the World before your time; but reſerve ſuch Diſcourſe for the ſingle Ear of your Maſter, into which you muſt pour it with more Caution than Malice, leſt it ſhould come to be diſcovered, as it is odds but it will; and then the next endeavour is Revenge; it being *leſs danger to traduce a King than his Minions.* The firſt ſtill looked upon as above blame, becauſe uncapable of Punniſhment; but the latter are not only Subject to Accuſations, but the aggravations of their Enemies; which fills them full of Caution and Prejudice to all they fear are able, or but willing to detect them. I could

ould produce ſad Effects that have followed the want f Care in this, but that I intend Advice, not an iſtory.

It is an Office unbecoming a Gentleman to be an *In-elligencer*, which in real truth is no better than a *Spy* who are often brought to the Torture, and Die mi-erably, tho' no words are made of it, being a uſe con-ived at by all Princes:) To whom I give this Cau-ion, that they ſtay not after their Patrons are called Home, which do not ſeldom (in emulation to their ucceſſor, or to gratifie the Prince they have treated withal, and it may be, from whom they have received reſents and high Commendations to their own King) diſcover all that are employ'd to do him hurt.

Many, by woful experience, have taſted the bitter Conſequence of *delivering their ſingle Judgment of Men in Power, or revealing their Miſcarriages, when able to produce no ſtronger proof than their own*; for ſuch do not rarely, out of forgetfulneſs, or ſome other more Politick end, add to the *Information*; and ſo make you in the opinion of others, to Recant, or juſtifie a a Lye. For if it be a *Prince* who Repeats your Report, you cannot with ſafety or manners due to the Dignity of his Perſon, interrupt him, or, in the concluſion, rectifie his Relation with ſo ſtout a Forehead, as an Innocent Heart cannot but own. Therefore wait in ſuch Caſes of *Secreſie*, you muſt, till ſome opportuni-ty produceth a *Medium* ſtrong enough to ſatisfie him to whom you make the Relation, and ſcreen your ſelf from all imputation of Falſhood. For want of which Caution, I have known many Ground to pieces be-tween the weight of their own credit, and the parties accuſed.

It is always *ſlippery about the Throne*, but moſt dan-gerous, where a *Prince*, out of diſtruſt of his own abilities, or attention to the Voice of Pleaſure, leaves his Affairs wholly to the Conduct of a *Favourite*; for there to opine contrary to the Guſto of ſuch a Subject, how

how neceſſary or prudent ſoever your *Advice* is, will b looked upon as given out of *Deſign*, if not in *Oppoſitio* to his Greatneſs. By this I have known many fa into the diſpleaſure of their Sovereign, whoſe Ear are more open to the Complaints of his *Minion*, tha the juſter Defences of a more faithful Servant; whic can never come to be heard, there being no acceſs t him, but only through the Mediation of the Party yo have Offended. Wherefore in ſuch Government there can be no ſecurity, but by propoſing what Con veniency and Reaſon dictates by way of *Problem*. An if generally received, it may paſs under *the Advice o others*, tho contrary to the hair of the greateſt Coun ſeller, who in this Caſe knows not againſt whom t plant his Revenge; a *Number* being no leſs uncapabl of Fear than Reproof. But if you find any thing re jected, or but queſtioned by your Maſter upon preme ditation, you may be ſure the hand of *Joab* is in it and ſo not to be proſecuted farther without runnin the hazard of your Ruin.

19. That it is not unlawful to Serve, or bear Offic or Arms under ſuch as Aſcend the Throne, or othe High Places by Steps waſhed in Blood, you may b abundantly ſatisfied in Conſcience, by the *Church* i Nero's *Houſe*, the good *Centurion*, and many other mentioned in Scripture.

20. *Court* him always you hope one day to mak uſe of, but at the leaſt Expence you can; obſervin the condition of *Men in Power, to eſteem better of ſuc as they have done Courteſies for, than thoſe they have re ceived greater from*; looking upon this as a Shame upon the other as an Honour.

21. 'Tis a Natural guard, and within the manage ment of the moſt ordinary Capacities, to keep an Enemy out at the Staves end; but ſuitable only to a Superlative Prudence, ſo wiſely to Govern your Words and Actions towards a *Friend*, as may Preſerve your ſelf from Danger; not to be done but by com-

muni-

unicating to him no more than Diſcretion or Neceſ-
y ſhall warrant you to Reveal; ſince Men, in this
elation, deſtroy as many out of Folly as Perfidiouſ-
eſs; Wiſdom being a rarer Ingredient in Friendſhip
han Honeſty. This makes me think the Friend *Seneca*
rags of, was only an *Utopian*; and therefore I ſhall
aſs it by as a Romantick Strain, being rather a Sally
f his Wit, than a real Charge iſſuing out of the Bo-
y of his Judgment. The higheſt *Love* I dare give
redit to, is that of *Jonathan*, yet granting he looked
pon the Words of *Samuel* as *Oracles*, no other pro-
able way appeared to preſerve his *Family*, than by
elping *David* to promote that he was throughly per-
waded he could not hinder. This put into the Ba-
nce with the *Frailty*, no leſs than the *Rarity* of ſuch
erſons, makes me adviſe you not to weigh that was,
ay be, and perhaps is; but how many more have
een betrayed and undone, under the ſpecious pretext
f Frienſhip? wherefore not to be truſted farther than
he line of a reciprocal Intereſt doth extend; no for-
ner Merit being now able to give Caution for a future
ruſt, becauſe depending upon the acceptance of the
eceiver, not the value the Giver rates it at. To
onclude, Tho' I think this a neceſſary Caution, in
his perfidious Generation, yet I hope you will be ſo
ar tender of your own Honour, as not wilfully to
iolate *ſo Sacred a Bond*, never Broken or thought out
f Faſhion, but by baſe Hands and corrupted Minds:
Deſertion of Friends being none of the ſmalleſt Signs
ortending the deſtruction of a People; for ſuch as
ut of a pretence of *Love*, betray others, will not
pare their *King*, *Country*, or *God*.

22. *Mingle not* your *Intereſt* with a *Great Man*'s,
ade deſperate by Debts or Court Injuries, whoſe
reakings out prove fatal to their wiſeſt Followers
nd Friends; averred in the laſt Earl of *Eſſex* but one,
where *Merrick* his Steward, and *Cuffe* his Secretary,
ho' of excellent Parts, were both Hanged. For ſuch
uncon-

unconcocted Rebellions turn ſeldom to the hurt of an but the Parties that promote them; being commonl guided by the directions of their Enemies, as thi was by *Cecil*, whoſe Creatures perſwaded *Eſſex* to thi inconſiderate attempt.

23. Let nothing unjuſtifiable or dangerous appea under your *Hand*, which many Years after, may ri up in Judgment againſt you, when things ſpoken ma be forgot; as happened to the Duke of *Norfolk*, Si *Gervaſe Elvis*, and a great Earl I knew led by the Noſ all King *James* his Reign, for fear of being queſtione about Letters writ to ſo high a Perſon as is Treaſo by the Law, to Solicite, *&c.* Therefore I charge you as you tender the Bleſſing of your own Safety, *not t Write in an ill Senſe*, whatever your Character be For, if not tedious Examination, ſharp Torture wil force you to produce a Key.

24. Avoid the Folly of *Acteon*, that loſt the ſhape o a *Courtier*, by prying into their *Secrets*, Religion taugh him to Worſhip: An Humour Sir *Edw. Coke* migh have paid dearer for, had he Publiſhed the Content of the Earl of *Somerſet*'s Letters in a leſs Mercifu King's Reign than *James*'s, of whoſe Pardon the foulеſt Faults taſted, yet became ſo highly irritated by thi proud Lawyer's indiſcretion, as to remove his Anger from the *Priſoner* to the *Judge*, where it reſted till Death; who, by the Riches and Honours he poured upon ſuch Heads as his Youth found in Arms againſt him in *Scotland*, and in Juncto's in *England*, hath made it manifeſt, That a Prince is eaſier Reconciled to an Enemy, who hath cauſed him to tremble, than a Subject that hath daily in his Power the means to make him bluſh. Therefore if you attain any ſuch knowledge, diſſemble it, or put the beſt expoſition upon it.

25. Providence or a ſeverer Deſtiny hath Houſed under all Roofs a ſufficient proportion of Calamities: Therefore 'tis folly to ſend to Market for troubles, as thoſe that do contract *Foreign Infelicities*, vexing themſelves

elves for the Loſſes of the Prince of *Conde* in *France*, he Death of the King of *Sweden* in *Germany*, or the rogreſs of the *Turks* in *Candy*, &c. *Tophet* is prepar-d of old, as well to Torment the Ambitious and Inquiet Spirits of buſie Subjects as Kings.

26. Afflict not your ſelf to ſee *the Reward of Wiſdom Diſtributed among Fools*; for thoſe the *Fathers* ſtone and excruciate by neglect, as the *Jews* did the *Prophets*. Their *Sons* may raiſe Monuments, and curſe their Anceſtors, that out of fear to detect their own Ignorance, barred the Gates of Preferment againſt all more able than themſelves to have Paved a Way to future Felicity: It being the ordinary Mode, if not Policy of the World, *to keep Folly at the Helm, and Wit under Hatches.*

27. One may attain to a higher degree of Honour and Power under a *Monarch*, than can be found room for in the *Republick*; as is apparent in ſome *Favourites* that have had the Adminiſtration of all Affairs. Yet in my opinion this is abundantly recompenſed in the multitude, which the latter employs, who are ſecurer in what they enjoy, in not being ſubject to the Paſſions of a ſingle Judgment.

Republicks lie moſt obnoxious to popular *Commotions*, *Monarchies* to *clandeſtine Attempts*; in the firſt it is not ſafe to be found, unleſs they be ſo Epidemical as may more than probably aſſure Succeſs; in the latter, not decent for a Perſon of Honour, tho' warranted by never ſo much Security; no Hands being more loathſom than thoſe that ſmell of Blood and Treachery.

28. Tho' *Law* Periſh (a thing unlikely, being the Guard of all Peace) yet *Oratory* will ſtill keep in repute, as having more Affections to work upon in a *Republick* than a *Monarchy*, one Judgment being eaſier foreſtalled than many; ſo that I may ſafely preſage, if a Golden Tongue fall under a Subtile Head, it may have a great influence upon the whole Senate.

29. Tho'

29. Tho' I hope I have now reaſon to be Confide you will accompliſh the preſage, divers long ſince ma of your future *ſufficiency*; yet I ſhould adviſe not extend it to any publick demonſtration, beyond th Limits of your own *Profeſſion*; ſince *the Study of the La* being eſteemed by all a full Employment for a whol Man, if you ſhould make a conſiderable digreſſion in to another Calling, it might occaſion a jealouſie i your *Clients*, you had neglected your own. The ſe veral Books, incomparable *Bacon* was known to Read beſides thoſe relating to the *Law*, were objected t him, as an Argument of his inſufficiency to manag the Place of *Solicitor General*, and may lie as a rub i all their ways, that ſhall out of vain-glory, to mani feſt a general knowledge, neglect this Caution.

30. Avoid in *your Pleadings* ſuch unneceſſary Digreſ ſions as ſome of the *Long Robe* do ordinarily make, from the Merit of the Cauſe, to the *Defamation* of the contrary Party: A Quickſand wherein *Coke* that *Leviathan* of the *Law*, mired his Repute. Nor could he diveſt this vanity after he was made a Judg; from which height it caſt him to the hazard of his Neck, had not the ſoft Nature of King *James* broke his fall. Nor doth the antiquity of it plead a better excuſe, than that he retained the effeminate and weaker Part, leaving the *Roman Elegancy* unimitated.

31. At a *Conference*, to *ſpeak laſt* is no ſmall advantage; as Mr. *John Hambden* wiſely obſerved, who made himſelf ſtill the Goal-keeper of his Party, giving his oppoſites leiſure to loſe their Reaſons in the loud and leſs ſignificant Tempeſt, commonly ariſing upon a firſt Debate; in which, if he found his ſide worſted, he had the dexterous Sagacity to mount the Argument above the Heads of the major part: Whoſe ſingle Reaſon did not ſeldom make the whole *Parliament* ſo far ſuſpicious of their own, as to approve his, or at leaſt give time for another Debate, by which he had the opportunity to muſter up more forces; thus

by

confounding the weaker, and tiring out the acuter judgments, he ſeldom failed to attain his ends.

32. If you be to vote in any *Publick Aſſembly*, avoid, as much as you may, giving conceſſion under your hand to any private Man's written Opinions: For you cannot, without experiment, believe how much your own judgment will be altered, and how crude your former Reaſons will appear to your ſelf, after they are ruminated and digeſted by Debate.

Having ſince theſe Wars been admitted to *Councils*, where many of no great Capacity have aſſiſted, I never knew any thing come ſo exactly framed out of one Man's Senſe, that did not receive a palpable amendment from the *Debates* of ſometimes much inferiour judgments: Nay I have known ſome that have had the fortune to ſtart the *Idea*, which when it hath been preſented to them again in a perfect *Reſult*, have not been able to ſee the bottom of the Wiſdom of it, without much difficulty and admiration: Neither is this Miraculous, but Natural; for the *Fuller*, *Dier*, *Weaver*, *&c.* underſtand not each others Trades, yet between them all a good Piece of Cloth is made.

33. As excellent *Painters* were not wont to fix upon a ſingle Beauty, but did borrow an *Eye* of this and a *Lip*, *Noſe*, *&c.* from others, out of which was formed an exquiſite *Venus*; ſo ſhall you do well to *propoſe more than one for imitation*, the only way to render you compleat: Since a Man abſolute in all points hath not yet riſen within the Circle of the largeſt Experience. Which renders them obnoxious to Cenſure, rather than Commendations, before Death hath deprived them of the Senſe of either: *Envy* that feeds only upon Infirmities, receiving a more favourable Audience from the generality than the loudeſt deſert; the progreſs of whoſe *detraction* doth commonly terminate at the Grave; after which ſhe is as intemperate in their praiſe by way of compariſon with thoſe alive, as ſhe was malicious to them at their being here; where none

none are ſo exact, no not in that very Profeſſion which they have made it the Study of their Lives to be perfect in, but that in ſome things they lie open to reproof, as I could inſtance in that courſe you have choſen, where many taken for Tutors, would not have been thought worth the following were they now in being(as their Contemporaries know) who had the true ſmack of the *Pottage* before the *Coloquintida* was corrected by the *Earth*, the Womb of Forgetfullneſs, ſome wanting *Elocution*, others *Confidence*, and many owners of theſe, *Moderation*: It lying in the Power of a fooliſh Cuſtom or Geſture to render the moſt able ridiculous; Mens Eyes no leſs than their Judgments being blind towards themſelves: For tho' the *Client* loves him that ſpeaks much and loud, the *Court* favours thoſe are modeſt and pertinent. This I tell you, that you ſhould not take all for current Gold you ſee gliſtering in Opinion, nor all for Droſs and Counterfeit, which hath not had the Fortune to receive the Impreſs of her approbation.

34. Before I came to have leiſure to obſerve them, I thought *Princes* and *Miniſters of State* ſomething above Humane; not hearing a word fall from them, upon which I did not put a Politick Conſtruction: But growing more familiar with them, I found their Diſcourſes mingled with the ſame *Follies*, ours are; and their Domeſtical affairs carried on with as little, if not leſs diſcretion ſometimes than ordinary Mens.

35. He that ſeeks *Perfection on Earth*, leaves nothing new for the Saints to find in Heaven: For whileſt Men teach, there will be miſtakes in Divinity; and as long as no other Govern, Errors in the State: Therefore be not licoriſh after *Change*, leſt you muddy your preſent felicity with a future greater, and more ſharp inconvenience.

36. Thoſe that impute their *good ſucceſs* to *Chance*, or rather *Providence* (unto which none can be too liberal, ſince every thing Proceeds from it) rebate the

point

point of *Envy* far more than ſuch as father them upon their own *Wiſdom* or *Valour*, in which many pretend an ample ſhare, that may eaſily be brought to confeſs themſelves exceeded in *Luck*. And moſt Men are willing to imploy or follow his Conduct that lies under the high eſteem of a *Favourite to Fortune*: Who are ever acceptable in the Courts of Princes, becauſe they create more hope than jealouſie; All being apter to Reverence and Love, than Malign ſuch as they think operate under the favourable Aſpect of the Omnipotent *God*: Which opinion attained, it breeds no leſs Confidence in Friends than it ſtrikes Terrour into Enemies.

37. As I would have you primarily intend ſtopping of the Leaks in your own Bottom, if *called to the Helm* (from which in Free States none are exempt) ſo you muſt by no mens neglect the repairing the broken fortunes of others found to be of *excellent Parts*, who if not made Friends by Preferment, may prove dangerous to a New-founded State: Neither are *Preferments* ſo ſcarce, or theſe ſo numerous, but that there is proviſion enough for them in theſe three Nations: I confeſs Queen *Elizabeth* moſt happy in this, which preſerved her from Civil Wars; whoſe Foundations are commonly laid by Artificers too ſubtile to be diſcovered; Flames, as in Hay or Straw, may be kindled in the more combuſtible People, by ſuch Foxes as ſhall appear rather to carry Water, than Fire-Brands; Nothing in Experience being found more mortal than an unſeaſonable Commendation from an eloquent Tongue or a forced complyance from a diſcontented Politician. The *Conſiſtory* and *Jeſuits* maintain throughout the World the Traffique of Sedition and privy Conſpiracy, yet have had ſo much Wit, as to land it in *Preſbyterians* bottoms, and to cover their Diſobedience to Governors under the attempts of the *Anabaptiſts*, that naturally acknowledge none. The Truth is, if wiſe Men will make it their buſineſs, they may be eaſily

able, where the People are unſetled, to obſtruct all good, and promote much evil, under the ſpecious pretences of *Religion* and *Safety*: Therefore far cheaper pleaſed than diſcontented; being otherwiſe in true Policy capable of no ſlighter ſecurity than ſhall be able to cut off all hope or deſire of future Revenge: The conſideration of which, tho' it cannot make me altogether approve, yet it abates my ſeverity in the Condemnation of that Legiſlator, ſaid to have Writ his Laws in Blood, which might be more ſuitable to the Complexion of ſome Times, than may poſſibly hitherto have been thought.

38. The like may be imagined of *Men proſcribed*, who between thirſt of Revenge, and a deſire of Returning, do not ſeldom promote their Countries Ruin. This alſo may Authorize their Tenets, that hold *Puniſhing Children* with the loſs of Goods *for their Fathers Crimes*, as dangerous as unjuſt. And under this Head may be reduced all *Penal Laws*, laid upon Faults not really prejudicial to the State: Nor can a too rigid ſcrutiny, either after perſonal lapſes in Manners, or uncouth Tenets in Religion, produce any good Effects to a Commonwealth where no *Inquiſition* is, which under the *Papacy* draws the envy wholly upon the Church, made incapable not only by Cuſtom, but by an awful Reverence of all Revenge.

39. Another Error may happen (eſpecially where a Free State is founded in Arms) by conceding too great a Power to the *Souldiery*; who like the Spirits of Conjurers, do oftentimes tear their Maſters and Raiſers in Pieces for want of other Employment. Therefore ſince it is beyond the plenty of any Nation to proportion a Reward ſuitable to the opinion they have of their own Merit, it behoves the Supream Power to bury their Covetouſneſs and Ambition in the fields of others by a Foreign War, yet as little to their diſcontent as may be; always giving them the Honour of good Servants, though bad Maſters; Remembring

that

that the Cauſe you raiſed them for, is not ſo deep buried, but it may riſe again to the Terror of all that withſtand it.

40. Neither can the *Clergy* be rendered with leſs danger, Deſpicable than Great; both theſe Extreams equally croſſing the ways of Peace; yet more Safety poſſibly may accrue from eſtating them in ſo comfortable a competency, as the loſing of it may Create fear, than ſuch a Power as they have in other Nations, found by experience to produce Pride and Ambition, beſides an encroachment on the Peoples Liberty, whoſe Natures they are uſed to warp towards any ſide, by the Hope and Terror they raiſe in Conſciences in relation to another World; the exploding of which Belief would be no leſs dimunition to the Reverence of the Civil Magiſtrate, than the Profit of the Prieſthood.

ADVICE to a SON

V. *Religion.*

1. READ the *Book of God* with Reverence, and in things doubtful take Fixation from the *Authority* of the *Church*, which cannot be Arraigned of a damnable Error, without queſtioning that Truth, which hath proclaim'd her proof againſt the *Gates of Hell*. This makes me wiſh that our *Samſons in Succeſs*, who have ſtript her of her Ornaments (Riches, Powers and Honours, which the Ancient Piety left her to cover her Nakedneſs withal) and given them to vain Expounders of Riddles, may not one day have cauſe to Repent, when they find themſelves annoyed, no leſs than the Eyes of Truth put out by the duſt and rubbiſh the fall of ſo great and antique a Frame is likely to make. Therefore be content to ſee your Judgment Wade, rather than Swim in *the Senſe of the Scriptures*; becauſe our deep Plungers have been obſerved to bring up ſandy Aſſertions and their Heads wrapt about with the venemous Weeds of Error and Schiſm; which may for the preſent diſcountenance the Endeavours of modeſter Learning, yet will, no doubt, ſink and vaniſh, after ſome Time and Experience had of their frequent Miſtakes as thoſe of our bold Expoſitors of the *Revelation* have moſt ſhamefully done.

For if *Brightman*, known by my ſelf Pious and Learned, could be ſo *out* in his Calculations for the Pope's Fall, as to the time: What encouragement remains for you to perplex your Studies or expectati-

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on, when thoſe Hieroglyphical *Obſcurities* ſhall be performed?

2. The prudent *Conſiſtory* finding the leſs zealous, yet more prying Judgments of theſe Times too full of Caution, Suſpicion, *&c.* to credit *new Miracles*, have forbidden the predication of more, without Licence from thoſe who are too cautelous for the paſſing of any, not at leaſt in ſemblance, proof againſt Detection; leaving them for the reſt to the large ſtock Time and Cuſtom (the Vouchers of many a Lie) have conveyed to them from their Anceſtors better cultivated Ignorance and Credulity; which may with far greater Reaſon adviſe us to a more tender and honourable eſteem of the Sacred Books of the Prophet *Daniel* and the *Apocalypſe*, than to ſuffer them ſtill, like *Whittington*'s Bells, to Ring the Advancement or Knell of thoſe at the Helm. *Comines* having noted it as a Blemiſh of *England*, to meaſure their Hopes and Fears by Fanatick preſages; the conſequence of which is in the future, likely to prove as fatal to the *Lay-Power*, as they have formerly been to the *Eccleſiaſtical*; ſo as our Governors, if they tender Religion or their own Safety, muſt hang the Lock of *Reſtraint* againſt theſe bold *Interpretations*; ſince the Seal thoſe Books retain, ſtrengthened with the dreadful Comminations of the Holy Spirit, are not ſufficient to ſtay the Ages Preſumption; who from among theſe *Hieroglyphicks* pick out ſuch *Cognizances* as beſt ſuit their Deſigns, not ſo eaſily brought about, as by a miſs-led Zeal in the Rabble; and after they have fixed them on thoſe that ſtand in the way of their Advancement, they, like *Diana*, ſet their own People upon them. Nor can a *Reſtriction* put upon our Peepers into ſuch *Myſteries*, be any more obruction to the Divine Truths they contain (not legible by any light the knowledge of Men hath hitherto attained) than it was Sloth or Sin in the *Egyptians*, not to follow their Callings till the three days Darkneſs was over, or their Abſtinence from Water a

contempt of God's Bleſſing, after it was by *Moſes* converted into Blood, and become the Sanctuary for venomous Frogs. This makes me think a Proſecution of the *Oriental Tongues* (beyond an ability to underſtand them) is like Muſick or Fencing, unable to recompence the Time they conſume; *Hebrew* being obſerved to grow for the moſt part in *Soils* apter to produce *Roots* than *Flowers*, yet ſo luxurious in the variety of Readings and Significations, as it amazeth the Wiſe, and precipitates the Ignorant and Factious into no leſs deep than deſtructive Enthuſiaſms.

3. He may be leſs Prudent, if not Religious, who ſtrains at a Gnat, contrary to the Stomach of the *Church* he lives in, than ſuch as ſwallow greater things owned by her *Univerſal Conſent*: For he that herds with the Congregation, tho' in an Error, hath *Obedience* to ſtand by him; whereas a Truth in the other, may be rendred more Peccant through a ſolitary obſtinacy; ſince it is ordinary with the Holy Spirit to Regiſter ſuch things for good, as had not quite expunged all Marks of Idolatry, tho' poſſibly in their Power to have done it, which a private Perſon cannot but want, having nothing but Arguments to oppoſe, blunted through Prejudice ariſing from a contrary Practice.

4. Deſpiſe not a *Profeſſion of Holineſs*, becauſe it may be true; but have a care how you truſt it, for fear it ſhould be falſe: The Coat of Chriſt being more in Faſhion than in Practice, *Many Pulpit-Men, like Phyſicians, forbidding their Patients that, you may ordinarily find on their own Trenchers.*

5. *Hypocriſie*, tho' looked upon by the Church, (the Spouſe of Chriſt) as a gaudy and painted Adultereſs, yet if ſhe paſſeth undiſcovered, the reſult is not ſo dangerous as that of open Prophaneneſs: Therefore ſhun all occaſions of *Scandal*, which commonly ariſe from *Drink*, whoſe Followers have their Lapſes ſcored on every wall.

6. *Criti-*

6. *Criticisms* and *curious Questions in School-Divinity*, may whet the Wit, but are detected for dulling the edge of Faith, and were never Famous for Edification; and tho' looked upon in these last Centuries, as the Right Hand of Learning, yet better cut off than used as they have long served, for Weapons of Contention; devised to puzzle the *Laity*, and render the *Clergy* no less Necessary than Honourable; who have Work enough cut out for them till Doomsday, to resolve which is least suitable to the Divine Essence, to have Bound the Hands of Men, or left them at Liberty. By this a constraint must needs be put upon us, or our Maker, *&c.* Which considered, renders it the more strange why School-Men pass for Saints, and *Arminians* in some Judgments for, *&c.*

7. I can approve of none for *Magisterial Divinity*, but that which is found floating in the unquestioned Sense of the Scriptures; therefore when cast upon a Place that seems equally inclined to different Opinions, I would advise to count it as Bowlers do, for *dead* to the present Understanding, and not to torture the Text by measuring every Nicety, but rather turn to one more Plain, referring to that all disputes; without knocking one hard place against another, as they have done since this Iron Age, till an unquenchable Fire of Contention is kindled, and so many jarring and uncertain sounds of Religion heard, as Men stand amaz'd, not knowing which to follow, all pretending to be in the right, as if it were possible for Truth to contradict her self.

8. I grant the *Socinians* are not at this time unworthily looked upon, as the most Chymical and Rational part of our many Divisions; yet going contrary to the ancient *Canons of the Church* (esteemed in the School of the Fathers, the best Grammar of a Christian's Creed) and wanting the principal Buttresses of Prescription, Universality and Consent, to uphold the Convenience, and justifie the ●uth of their Doctrine,

I cannot award them ſo much approbation as they ſeem in Reaſon to plead for; yet are ſo far confident, that if juſt proof can be made of their adulterating the the Faith of Antiquity, few Profeſſions extant can juſtly take up *the firſt Stone* againſt them; who upon a Conſciencious ſcrutiny, may poſſibly appear equally culpable: However, ſuch as call them *Arians*, do not think they Honour them with a former univerſal Conſent, *Athanaſius* only excepted: And other leſs probable Opinions may learn this Candor and Charity from them, nor to Bar Heaven Gates againſt all Profeſſions but their own; or, like our Retailers of New Lights, pull Paſſengers into their Preaching-Houſes by the Sleeves, as if all wanted Religion but themſelves.

9. And as the *Socinian Doctrine* appears too Aiery, High and Mercurial for ordinary Capacities, whoſe underſtandings are uſually conſumed, like *Jupiter's* Miſtreſs, in the ſplendid Commerce of ſuch ſublime Speculations; ſo the *Roman* is too Earthy and Saturnine, participating of the Droſs of Merit, Images, Indulgences, *&c.* Which convinceth Her of ſo much wordly Reſpect as ſhe ſtands condemned by all, but ſuch as are betrayed to her Devotion through Ignorance, Profit, or Honour, on the one hand, or chained to her Obedience by the Iron Inquiſition on the other.

10. Yet were not *Purgatory*, with the reſt of the *Romiſh* Goblins, obtruded as Articles of Faith, I ſhould be leſs ſcandalized at them; in hope by accident they might occaſion good; finding humane Nature ſo Childiſh, as to be ſooner ſcared, than perſwaded out of the dark Entries of Sin; the real Rod not being ſo terrible in the hand of the Magiſtrate, as theſe Phantaſms, which Tradition and the Prieſts ſubtilty hath formed in the Peoples Brains.

11. But in concluſion, you will find the *Reformation* moſt conformable to the Duty we owe to God, and the Magiſtrate; if not too Phlegmatick in paſſing by decent

cent Ceremonies, or too Cholerick and Rigid in ob-
uding upon weak and tender Conſciences.

12. And yet it was no unhappy rencounter in him
at ſaid, *A good Religion might be Compoſed out of the*
apiſts Charity, *the Puritans* Words, *and the Proteſtants*
aith: For where *Works* are thought too chargeable,
utward *Profeſſion* too cumberſom, the *Third* renders it
ſelf ſuſpected: The two firſt being only palpable
o Senſe and Reaſon, ſtand firm like a Rock; where-
s the other ſhakes under the weight of every Phancy,
s *Peter* did when he walked upon the Sea: To ſpeak
Engliſh, In *Good Works* none can be deceived but the
Doer, in valuing them too high; in the two latter, all
ut God, who only knows the Heart.

13. I confeſs the *Millenaries* are of ſo jovial a Creed,
s I could be content it ſtood with the will of God, I
ight herd with them; who, if not approved, I do
ot find condemned by any Council, at leaſt for the
irſt 300 Years.

14. But for the Vagabond *Schiſmatick*, he is ſo fiery,
s he cannot laſt long unconſumed, being ready upon
he leaſt advantage to melt all into Sedition; not ſpa-
ing to burn the Fingers of Government longer than
hey ſhower down Offices and Preferments upon him;
whining for a Sanctity here, God never yet truſted
out of Heaven: Therefore uncapable of quiet, but
under a ſevere Reſtraint, or an abſolute Liberty.

15. And our new *Levelling Opinions*, tho' they ſeem to
Tranſcribe their Authority, from the no leſs inimitable
than miraculous Practice of the Primitive times, ſtand
(if taken at the fartheſt extent) in ſo diametrical an
Oppoſition to all humane felicity, as not likely to pro-
ceed from the Lord of Order: Being, if Lights, in
ſuch dark Lanthorns, as rob humane Society of all
Reward, and conſequently, endeavour of deſert: Yet
the Owners tho' unconſtant in their new ways, pro-
nounce it Damnable to keep the old.

16. It

16. It is obſervable in the preſent humour, that thoſe who carry an impreſs of the *wildeſt Errors*, have a ſafer Paſſ-port to Travel by, and a nearer ſtep to Preferment than ſuch as retain the Tenets our Fathers kept in groſs during the Flames of the ancient Perſecutions, and by retail under the Modern: Making the Honour of that Doctrine ſcandalous, for which our Anceſtors were not aſhamed to Die; who are by this rendered the worſt of Murderers, as having through obſtinacy, been guilty of their own Death.

17. Will not ſuch proceedings incline to *Anarchy*? And that proving loathſom to all, make room for the old or ſome more acceptable Family, if not for Conqueſt by a Foreign Nation? becauſe People lying uneaſily, are apt to ſuch Tumblings and Changes, as cannot but at laſt bring them under a Power, ſtrong enough to conſtrain, or cunning enough to perſwade them, with a pretence of Holineſs and Righteouſneſs, to a mutual Compliance, in relation to a Change of Government. Of the firſt three are multitudes of examples throughout all Prophane Hiſtories; of the latter few but Sacred, where the *Jews* under *Moſes* being led by the miraculous Hand of God, are not capable to be comprized under the erring Axioms of Human Policy. As for *Mahomet*, he rolled on his untutored Rabble, by mixing Profit and Rapine with his Religion, which he left uncertain, grounding his Precepts upon Succeſs, ever owned as dropped upon them out of Heaven; making himſelf ſtill confident of the Event, which I cannot undertake, therefore unable in theſe Aporetick Times, to give you better Counſel, than to *keep your Compliance* ſo *looſe*, as if poſſible, you may fix it to the beſt Advantage of your Profit and Honour.

18. Nevertheleſs, tho' a high, palpable and external *Zeal* is taken, by the preſent Age, as a mark of Confidence, yet I cannot look upon it with ſuch Affection, becauſe ſcrewed up to theſe Altitudes in many,

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by the Wooden-Pins of Worldly Reſpects: Not likely to hold longer in Tune, than a Harmony can be made among all Parties, now poſſibly at odds, or under a jealous Aſpect: Therefore I adviſe you to put no more of it on, than with Decency you may diveſt, in caſe the Faſhion ſhould alter, and the rich Die the Wars have dipt it in, be rubbed off; ſince all Cuſtoms riſe or fall proportionable to the Exchange they make for the Preferments in the State; to which in Deſcretion you are bound to ſuit your Obedience, tho' not your Conſcience. For I would have my Perſuaſions underſtood to reach only to what is conſonant to Religion; which doth not blind you to choak your Fortunes with the Criticiſms of ſuch Poſtillers of the Age, as value their Interpretations of Scripture above Liberty or Life; and by this over-weaning, one Century makes Martyrs of thoſe the Precedent thought Hereticks, and ſuch Liberators of their Country, as were formerly held Traitors.

19. Keep then your *Conſcience* tender, but not ſo raw, as to wince and kick at all you underſtand not; nor let it baffle your Wit out of the bounds of Diſcretion, as ſuch do that ſuffer themſelves to be moved by it: To prevent which, keep *Reaſon* always in your Eye; whoſe Light ought never to be loſt in the worldly Action, and but eclipſed in what relates to Heaven; the Tribunal of *Conſcience* being erected in our Soul, to detect our Miſcarriages, not to betray our well-being, and therefore ſubordinate not only to a ſuperlative Authority, but alſo our own honeſt, ſafe and wholſom Conveniencies. Neither is *Conſcience* ſeldom miſled by Education, Cuſtom, and the falſe Repreſentations of Teachers, who benighted in the dark Intereſts of Covetouſneſs and Ambition, ſeek to lodge others under the Roof of ſuch Inſtitutes as they believe not themſelves, yet employ all their Art, Sufficiency and Endeavour, to make them paſs for Authentick and the pure Mind of God; like Juglers, that beguile

guile our Senſes with what is not, to have the better Opportunity to pick our Pockets of what is really uſeful to themſelves; for as the more ſubtile Wind got into the narrow and delicate Parts of our Body, is able to act the Stone, Gout, and other moſt acute Diſeaſes, not really preſent; ſo doth *Superſtition* repreſent in this changeable and Concave Glaſs of a ſuborned *Conſcience*, things for Sinful, that are indeed but Natural and Indifferent; and other Pious, that are really Vain and Deſtructive; the proſecution of which leads readily to Atheiſm, or an over-biaſſed Holineſs, which proſecutes all that carry the impreſs of any contrary Tenets.

20. Fly that ſelf-murdering Tyrant *Obſtinacy*, who, like our Witches, is not ſeldom found to pamper the Imps of Hereſie with her own Blood; being not only now, but from all Antiquity, able to bring Clouds of Witneſſes to the Stake, for the proof of the Wildeſt Opinions. And, if I am not much miſtaken, from the reverberation of her Heat, the Flames of the Ancient Perſecutions, as well as thoſe that followed, were at leaſt increaſed, if not kindled.

21. All Religions but ours, are accounted Idolatrous; and *Idolatry* is a Miſpriſion of the true *Worſhip*, in lieu of which ſome other is intruded upon belief, more catching to Senſe and auſpicious to Legiſlators Deſigns, than that purer Reverence due only to the Honour and perfect Will of God: Before which it is very ordinary with unſanctified *Politicians* to interject ſuch falſe *mediums* as may flatter or terrifie their Subjects into an awful Obedience of themſelves and their Laws. Therefore ſince nothing in *External Worſhip* can be performed but in ſome *poſture*, or after this or that *manner*, which Unity and Time will ſoon make general, and ſo concoct what was formerly indifferent, into a Religious *Ceremony*; by which *Superſtition*, if not *Idolatry*, hath ſtole into the *Romiſh Church*; who by impoſing a Neceſſity upon what was at firſt poſſibly

poſſibly a miſtake, or a meer extravagancy, have bred ſuch a Reverence in their People toward things proceeding perhaps from no higher inſpiration than the breath of Authority, that they expect no Salvation without them; which fond over-weaning may juſtly bring many laudable *Cuſtoms*, derived to us from an unqueſtioned Ancient *Tradition*, into the ſame predicament the *Brazen Serpent* fell, when by the *Jews* it was abuſed to Idolatry; which tho' a *Type* of our Saviour, was it ſelf without queſtion lawfully *diſfigured*. This makes me confeſs, that tho' I Honour Ancient *Tradition* with the higheſt—, I cannot be of that Spirit to *conteſt* for her (or againſt her) *unto blood*: But do rather believe the cruel Contention begun between the *Greek* and *Latin Churches*, about the time of *Eaſter*, reſulted from Ambition more than Piety, as may appear by the unhappy Conſequences of that ſtrife. This may perſwade to a *Conformity* with ſuch Governments, as ſhall explode former modes uſed in the *External Worſhip* of God: The Queſtion, *Who required theſe Things at your Hands?* May one Day prove as hard to Reſolve, and cauſe no leſs Aſtoniſhment than fell upon him Interrogated, *How cameſt thou in hither, not having a Wedding Garment?* Underſtood of Endowments far mor Eſſential to Salvation, than any Human Conſtitutions can be.

22. As it is manifeſt, that moſt *Princes* and Men in Power (the not unlikelieſt to know Truth, becauſe it is ſuſpected they did at firſt diſguiſe it) make no more account of *Religion*, than the Profit and Conveniencie it brings, is able to compenſe; ſo that the unbiaſſed *Rabble*, if once emancipated out of the Fetters, their former Creed confined them to, value the *Church*, as they do the old Coins they dig up, which they take for Counters, becauſe they find them ſubject to Ruſt, and are not able by reaſon of the *Roman* Inſcriptions (*the Character of the Beaſt*, which Opinion rather than Judgment imagines them branded withal) to make them

them pass in the strict Commerce of these intoxicated Times; whereby they exchange that for baser Metal, which in it self perhaps is pure Gold, only attached unhappily by the Cankers and Corruption of the Age, easier scoured off than melted.

23. But if S. *Peter*'s pretended Successor, the Pope, be found guilty of such Erroneous Mistakes, it cannot be somuch, a Solœcism in Reason with our *Seekers* to place S. *Thomas* in the Chair; believing, like him, no more than lies patent to Human Understanding, which is as much as can decently be imposed upon a new Believer without a Miracle: *Reason* being all the Touchstone besides left in our Hands, to distinguish this Gold from the Dross, they pretend our Religion hath contracted. The *Scripture* alone seeming unable, by reason of her Readings, and the several Sounds, variety of Expositions have put upon it, to decide all Differences: Besides the long aboad she hath made at *Rome* (where who knows whether or no, or how far that Bishop hath put in his Foot?) may render her in some Opinions, suspected, as participating of the like Corruptions, we see manifested in Translations: So as it may possibly be wished, Learning had never taken her out of the Hands of *Tradition*: Where for many Years she remained with more quiet than ever she enjoyed since she grew Domestical with all sorts of Understandings, who have been connived at by the State (how prudently I dare not determin) whilest they cut her more short, or extend her longer, as best fitted their Ends and Occasions. Now if Faith be not allowed to be taken implicitly from the Authority of any Church, a Freedom of Choice, by consequence will result to all, by which Salvation must be wroght out: And in this Wilderness of Contention we have no better Guide to follow than *Reason*, found the same for many thousands of Years, tho' *Belief* hath been observed to vary every Age. And since so considerable a Falshood is thought to be discovered by our Governors,

vernors in the Clergies Tenet, for the *impunity of Kings*; why may not their poor Subjects be unſatisfied about the Place they ſhall receive their own Reward or Puniſhment in after this Life; or what elſe may befal theſe duſty Bodies of ours? Yet I ſay not this to diminiſh your Faith, but to encreaſe your Charity towards *tender Conſciences*, who may pretend cauſe enough to doubt, tho' my ſingle Judgment is ſtill ready to determine for *Antiquity*; which I would have you Reverence, but not concude Infallible; yet I ſhould take her Word ſooner in *Divinity* than any other *Learning*, becauſe that is cleareſt at the beginning, all Studies elſe more muddy, receiving Clarification from Experience.

All Truth familiar unto Mortals is only legible by the Eye of *Reaſon*, *Revelation*, *Prophecy*, *&c.* being Strangers now to Fleſh, and ever too high elevated for the perpetual Commerce of ſuch weak Creatures, who may ſometimes enjoy a glimmering of them, as the Northern Inhabitants do of the Sun in Winter, not permanent longer than they are able to Fan away the dark Clouds of Infidelity, which dims their Light upon the Abſence of the Extaſie: Whereas *Reaſon* paſſeth in an Univerſal Commerce, being of an unqueſtioned Alloy, and therefore the likelieſt to be the Oracles of the everliving *God*; ſaid by *Solomon* to have *ſquared the Bars of the Earth by her Rule*, and ſo not improbably ſuppoſed to have meaſured out a way to Heaven by her Line. S. *Paul* allows the notice of God's Univerſal Goodneſs for a ſufficient Evidence to convince the Diſobedient Heathen; and may not the ſame as well ſave the faithful Obſervers of the purer Law of Nature? Shall the Righteous Judge of all things be found with two Weights, one to Save, an other to Damn by? *Reaſon* only Commands *Belief*, all things elſe Beg it, ſo far as the moſt ſtupendious *Miracles* that ever were, cannot Confute, tho' 'tis poſſible they may ſilence it for a Time; But *Belief* changeth, and impairing

pairing or mending implies a wearing out Imperfections; *Reason* is uncapable of remaining the same for ever, as the most faithful Guide to our maker.

24. It is no less worth your Observance than Admiration, that some of the wild *Indians*, and other People by us stiled *Barbarous*, are yet more Strangers to the unsociable Sins of Improbity, Covetousness, *&c.* than such as pretend to advance their Conversion; of which this may be a Reason, That whilest they remain constant to the pure Dictates of Nature, they imagine no Meditation to secure their Hopes, or screen their Fears, conceived to depend on another Life, but their own Endeavours, which might give *Paul* an occasion to pronounce them, *a Law to themselves*, and therefore possibly within the Compass of God's secret Grace; it being our Saviour's own Confession to him that had kept the Commandments, that nothing wanted but the Sale of his *Propriety*; a Term these understand not, having all in Common, and if the last part be looked upon as omitted, I would fain know who follows his Master best, he that comes loaden with what he is able, and goes as far as he can with him; or else he that hath lost it all, or is lazy and lies down by the Way; Acceptance being a far easier Grant than Pardon?

25. *Religions* do not naturally *differ* so much in themselves, as fiery and uncharitable Men pretend; who do not seldom Persecute those of their own Creed, because they profess it in other Terms. Then do not only ask thy *Conscience* what is Truth, but give her full leisure to resolve thee; for he that goes out of the Way with her Consent, is likelier to find rest, than he that plods on without taking her Directions.

Therefore do nothing against the Counsel of this Guide, tho' she is observed in the World to render her Owners obnoxious to the Injury and Deceit of all that converse without her; *Nothing being more hard and chargeable to keep than a good Conscience.*

26. Let

26. Let no ſeeming Opportunity prevail ſo far upon your *curioſity*, as to entice you to an *inſpection* into your *future fortune*; ſince ſuch *inquiſitiveneſs* was never anſwered with good Succeſs: The World like a Lottery, affording multitudes of Croſſes for one Prize; which reduced all into a ſum, muſt by a neceſſary conſequence, render the remainder of Life tedious, in removing preſent Felicities, to make room for the Contemplation of future Miſeries.

Do not pre-ingage *Hope* or *Fear* by a tedious *expectation*, which may leſſen the Pleaſure of the firſt, yet cannot but aggravate the weight of the latter, whoſe arrival is commonly with a leſs train of inconveniences, than this Harbinger ſtrives to take up room for, *evil Fortune being no leſs inconſtant than good*: Therefore render not thy ſelf giddy, by pouring on Deſpair, nor wanton with the Contemplation of Hope.

27. Stamp not the Impreſs of a *Divine Vengeance* upon the Death or Misfortunes of others, tho' never ſo prodigious; for fear of Penning a Satyr againſt your ſelf, in caſe you ſhould fall under the ſame chance: Many things being taken up as dropped out of an immediate Celeſtial Hand, that fell from a no higher pitch than where God in his Providence hath placed ſuch Events, as wait upon all times and occaſions, which Prayers and Prudence are not able always to ſhroud you from: Since upon a ſtrict Enquiry, it may appear, that in *relation to this World, the Godly have as little cauſe to brag as the Wicked to complain.*

28. Be not eaſily drawn to lay the foul *imputation of Witchcraft* upon any, much leſs to aſſiſt at their *Condemnation*, too common among us; For *who is ſufficient for theſe things*, ſince we are as ignorant in the Benevolences, as Malignities of Nature? *Madmen* preſenting in their Melancholy Extaſies, as prodigious Confeſſions and Geſtures, as are objected to theſe no leſs infatuated People. And if this humour hath ſo far prevailed with ſome, as to take themſelves for Uri-

nals, Wolves, and what not: Can it ſeem impoſſible for thoſe, invaded by all the cauſes of diſcontent, to imagine themſelves Authors of what they never did? Moſt of theſe ſtrange Miracles they ſuppoſe, being hatched by the heat of Imagination, or ſnatched out of the huge Maſs of Contingences, ſuch a Multitude of Individuals as the World produceth, cannot chuſe but ſtumble upon; neither may it be admitted, with due Reverence to the Divine Nature: That *Prophecy* ſhould *ceaſe*, and *Witches ſo abound*; as ſeems by their frequent Executions; which makes me think the ſtrongeſt Faſcination is encircled within the *Ignorance* of the Judges, *Malice* of the Witneſſes, or *Stupidity* of the poor Parties accuſed.

29. Be not therefore haſty to Regiſter all you underſtand not, in the black Calender of Hell, as ſome have done the *Weapon ſalve*; paſſing by the Cure of the *Kings-Evil*, altogether as improbable to Senſe; neither *raſhly Condemn* all you meet with that contradicts the common received Opinion, leſt you ſhould remain a Fool upon Record, as the *Pope* doth, that Anathematized the *Biſhop of Saltsburg*, for maintaining *Antipodes*; and the *Conſiſtory*, that may poſſibly attain the ſame Honour, for decreeing againſt the probable Opinion of the *Earths Motion*; ſince the branding of one *Truth* imports more Diſrepute than the Broaching of ten *Errors*, theſe being only lapſes in the ſearch of new Reaſon, without which there can be no addition to Knowledge; that, a murdering of it, when by others greater Wit and Induſtry it is begotten, not to be accounted leſs than an unpardonable Sin againſt the Spirit of Learning. Therefore *mingle Charity with Judgment*, and *temper your Zeal with Diſcretion*, ſo may your own Fame be preſerved, without intrenching upon that of others.

Fall not out with *Charity*, tho' you find for the moſt part *Ingratitude* lying at her Gate; which God hath contrived, the better to reſerve Requital to himſelf.

30. As

30. As he offers an high Indignity to the *Divine Nature* that robs God of his Honour, by owning Thoughts of him unſutable to the Dictates of Reaſon (the exacteſt Engine we have to meaſure him by, out of the Volume of his Word;) ſo doth he offend no leſs againſt *Probity* that detains anothers *Due*; contrary to Juſtice and the Clamours of his own Conſcience; whereby he makes himſelf and his Poſterity Heirs to the Curſe, which the Wheel of Providence, moved by the Breath of God's firſt *Fiat*, doth uſually ſtamp upon thoſe, that endeavour to deface the impreſs of Goodneſs and Equity, which appeared in all things at the beginning. Therefore be not forward to promote any *deſtructive Tenents*, or liquoriſh after ſuch *ill-gotten Eſtates*, as the Law of Power may for a ſmall Summ be wooed to poſſeſs you of, out of an Hope to engage you, or a Fear they might revert, in caſe they were not diffuſed amongſt a multitude of Owners.

Make not *Law*, or the *Power* you may poſſibly exerciſe in the *Common-wealth*, inſtrumental to your private Malice; *No Murders being ſo bloody*, as *thoſe committed by the Sword of Juſtice.*

31. Let not the Cheapneſs or Conveniency of *Church-Lands* tempt you to their Purchaſe; for tho', I have not obſerved Vengeance ſo nimble in this World, as Divines pretend; yet what Prudence is there to ſubmit all your future Succeſs to be meaſured out, by ſo ſevere Expoſitions, as *Church-Men* uſually make of *Sacrilegious Perſons*, which all are Regiſtred to be, that meddle with their *Revenues*? Beſides the Danger and Shame of refunding, in caſe a contrary Zeal ſhould repoſſeſs the People; whoſe Clamours and Warrant cannot be thought leſs ſufficient to obliterate your Title, than the former; Written as may be ſuppoſed, with more Authentick Ink.

32. Denounce no *enmity* againſt the *Clergy*; for ſupported by Prayers or Policy, they cannot long want an Opportunity to revenge themſelves. Nei-

ther *oppoſe* any *Religion* you find *Eſtabliſhed*, how ridiculous ſoever you apprehend it; for tho' like *David*, you may bring unavoidable Arguments to ſtagger a Popular Error; none but the Monſter's own Sword, can cut off the Head of one Univerſally Received.

Run not hooting after every *new Light* you may obſerve to wander about, nor endeavour by a tumultuous Diſpute to puff it out: For he that will *not quench the ſmoaking Flax*, may poſſibly accept of a Lamp compoſed of no richer ſtuff than Ruſhes.

33. Grudge not *Tythes* to the Teachers of the Goſpel, aſſigned for their Wages by the Divine Legiſlator; of whoſe Inſtitutes this was none of the leaſt Profound, That the Tribe of *Levi* were prohibited all other Revenue, than what was deducible out of the tenth part of the other Elevens Encreaſe: Setting bounds thereby to all the Improvement, their Wiſdoms, and the tie the Prieſthood had over the Peoples Conſciences, might in the future poſſibly make, in cauſing their Maintenance to riſe and fall, proportionable to the general ſtandard of the Nations felicity which this limitation obliged them to promote, and for their own ſakes, to oppoſe all incroachments likely to interrupt their Brethrens utility. This prompts me to believe, that if the like Salary were aſſigned here, we might promiſe to our ſelves the ſame Succeſs; provided the Sovereign Power reſerved in their own Hands the collation of *Benefices*, without giving leave to any *Stipendaries* or *Lecturers*, that ſignifie little leſs than an *Anti-clergy*: And to perſwade this, there may be more Reaſon, than the narrow Project of this Diſcourſe is able to find room for.

34. Yet I cannot but by the way mind you of the Superlative *Wiſdom* of *Moſes*, who leſt one Sacrilegious injury ſhould have proved a precedent for a greater (had the People made a benefit by the Spoil) imployed the *Cenſers* of *Corah* and his Complices to make Plates for the *Altar*: But finding the *Gold of Idols* too rank,

rank, decently to be uſed in the Service of God, he reduced them to Duſt, and threw them into the River; leſt the Multitude having been fleſhed on a *Calf*, a falſe Deity, ſhould after aſſume the boldneſs to rob the true One, and thoſe his Inſtitutes appointed to live by his Service.

35. And here it may not improperly be ſaid, that Cardinal *Wolſey* was ignorant of, or had forgot this Aphoriſm of Policy, when he pulled down *Monaſteries* to Build *Colleges*; by which he inſtructed that docile Tyrant *Henry* the Eighth to improve the ſame: There being *nothing forwarder to demoliſh the reſults of Zeal and Ignorance than Learning and Knowledge.* Neither did he diſcover himſelf a more accompliſhed Courtier, when he laid the Foundation of a *Grave* for a living King; who could not be delighted with the ſight of a *Tomb*, tho' never ſo magnificent, having lived in ſo high a Senſuality, as I may doubt, whether he would then have Exchanged it for the Joys of Heaven it ſelf. I inſtance in this, as a fit Example to diſſwade you from thinking it Diſcretion or Manners *to uſe Funerous Diſcourſes before Princes or Men in Power*; who hate nothing ſo much as the thought of their own Mortality, and therefore unlikely to be pleaſed with the Meſſengers of it.

ADVICE to a SON.

The *Concluſion.*

1. BEar always *a filial Reverence* to *your* dear *Mother*, and *let not her Old Age*, if ſhe attain it, *ſeem tedious unto you*; ſince the little ſhe may keep from you, will be abundantly Recompenced, not only by the Prayers, and by the tender Care ſhe hath, and ever will have of you; therefore in caſe of my Death, (which wearineſs of the World will not ſuffer me to adjourn, ſo much as by a wiſh) do not proportion your Reſpect by the Mode of other Sons, but to the greatneſs of *her Deſert*, beyond Requital in relation to us both.

2. Continue in *Love* and *Amity* with *your Siſter*, and in caſe of Need, *help her* what you are able; Remembring, *you are of a Piece*, and *Hers and Yours differ but in Name*; which I preſume (upon want of Iſſue) will not be denied to be impoſed on any Child of hers, you ſhall deſire to take for your own.

3. Let no time expunge his Memory that gave you the firſt Tincture of Erudition; to which he was more invited by Love than Profit, no leſs than his Incomparable Wife: Therefore if God make you able, requite them, and in the mean while Regiſter their Names among thoſe you ſtand moſt obliged unto.

4. What you *leave* at your *Death*, let it be *without Controverſie*; elſe the Lawyers will be your Heirs.

5. Be not ſolicitous after *Pomp* at my *Burial*, nor uſe any expenſive *Funeral Ceremony*; by which *Mourners, like Crows, devour the Living under pretence of Honouring a Dead*

a Dead Carcas: Neither can I apprehend a *Tomb-ſtone* to add ſo great a *weight of Glory* to the Dead, as it doth of Charge and Trouble to the Living; *None* being ſo *Impertinent waſters*, in my opinion, *as thoſe that build Houſes for the Dead:* He that lies under the Herſe of Heaven is convertible into ſweet Herbs and Flowers, that may reſt in ſuch Boſoms, as would ſhriek at the ugly Bugs, may poſſibly be found crawling in the Magnificent Tomb of *Henry* the Seventh; which alſo hinders the variety of ſuch contingent *Reſurrections* as unarched Bodies enjoy, without giving interruption to That, which He that will not again Die, hath promiſed to ſuch as Love him and expect his appearing: Beſides, that Man were better forgotten, who hath nothing of greater Moment to Regiſter his Name by than a Grave.

Conteſt not with ſuch Frantick People as deny Men the *Burial* formerly called Chriſtian; ſince unquietneſs importunes a Living Body more than a Ceremony can advantage one that is Dead. Neither be too rigid in giving or leaving out the *Title of Saint*, before their Names that appear in the Scripture to have been really ſuch: Since the practice in both Senſes, hath been often abuſed; the firſt to an over-eſteem of the Creature, the latter to the diſcouragement of Piety, through a ſecond Martyrdom inflicted upon the repute of thoſe, who laid down all Care of the World, if not their lives, for the Goſpel. Thus a wiſe Man may convert the moſt putrid humours to a pious uſe, or where this falls ſhort of a good Conſcience, to eke it out with Patience, a far eaſier remedy, than a leſs probable Contention. Theſe and an hundred other Changes ought not to diſturb our Reſt, who are leſs intereſted in what can happen after our Death, than in what was extant before our birth, no Books being legible in the dark Grave.

6. Neither can I apprehend ſuch Horrour in *Death*, as ſome do that render their Lives miſerable to avoid

it, meeting it oftentimes by the ſame way they take to ſhun it. *Death* if he may be gueſſed at by his elder Brother *Sleep*, (born before he was thought on, and fell upon *Adam* ere he fell from his Maker) cannot be ſo terrible a Meſſenger, being not without much *Eaſe*, if not ſome *Voluptuouſneſs*. Beſides, nothing in this World is worth coming from the Houſe top to fetch it, much leſs from the *deep Grave*; *furniſhed with all things, becauſe empty of Deſires.*

7. And concerning a *future Account*, I find the Bill to ſwell rather than ſhrink, by continuance: Or if a ſtronger propenſity to Religion reſides in Age, than Youth (which I wiſh I had no cauſe to doubt of) it relates more to the temperature of the Body, than an improvement of the Mind; and ſo unworthy of any other reward, than what is due to the effects of humane infirmities.

8. To conclude, Let us *Serve God* with what Reverence we are able, and *do* all the *good* we can, making as little unneceſſary work for Repentance, as is poſſible: And the Mercy of our Heavenly Father ſupply all our Defects in the Son of his Love. *Amen.*

Thus I have left you finiſhed (Dear Son) a Picture of the World; *in this at leaſt, like it, that it is frail and confuſed*; *being* an Original, not a Copy; *No more foreign help having been imployed in it, than what my own miſerable Experience had imprinted in my Memory. And as you have by trial already found the Truth of ſome of Theſe, ſo I moſt earneſtly beg of you to truſt the reſt, without thruſting your Fingers, like a Child, into thoſe Flames, in which your Father hath formerly been burnt, and ſo add, by your own Purchaſe, to the multitude of Inconveniencies he is forced to leave you by Inheritance.*

Now *You* are *Taught* to *Live*, there's nothing I
Eſteem worth *Learning* but the way to *Die.*

THE END.

AN

INDEX

Of the Particulars contained in this

ADVICE to a SON.

WHEREBY ALSO

The Reader may find the *Additions* to this *Impreſſion* (whether whole Paragraphs, or part) noted in *a different Character.*

PReface to the Reader.
To his Son.

I. Studies, *&c.*

1. *Free* Schools. 2. *Univerſities.* 3. *Meer Scholars.* 4. A more Free Education. 5. *Collegiate Diſcipline.* 6. *Phyſick.* 7. Probable Learning and Mathematicks. 8. *Volumes.* 9. Old and Modern Authors. 10. *Hiſtory.* 11. *Choice Books, Negotiations, Ambaſſadors.* 12. *Converſe.* 13. *Pedants.* 14. Reading and Quotations. 15. *Strong Lines.* 16. *Exerciſe*— 17. *Of Stile.* 18. *Letters.* 19. *Sordid Phraſes.* 20. Writers. 21. *Poetry.* 22. *Muſick.* 23. *Cloaths.*— 24. *Buying.* 25. *Horſes.* 26. *Riding.* 27. *Wreſtling, Vaulting, Fencing.* 28. *Swimming.* 29. Hunting, Hawking, 30. *Suretiſhip, Truſting.* 31. *Publick Faith.* 32. *Bargaining.*

gaining. 33. *Implicit Judging.* 34. *Pride.* 35. Supercilioufneſs. 36. To Whiſper. 37. *Geſture in ſpeaking.* 38. *Boldneſs.* 39. *Covetouſneſs, Thrift.* 40. Building, Servants. 41. *Riſing out of Bed.* 42. *Eating, Drinking, Tobacco.* 43. *Drunkenneſs,* Conſtables. 44. *Diet, Plots.* 45. *Company.* 46. *Fearing.* 47, 48. *Proverbs, Injuries, Fighting,— Duels.* 49. *Inſulting.* 50. *Ordinaries.* 51. *Dogs, Boys, Whores,* 52. *Secreſie.—* 53. *Boaſting,— of* 54. *The Favours of Women——* 55. *Married—* 56. *Great Ladies,—— at* 57. *Masks Plays,* &c.

II. Love and Marriage.

The Preface to the Reader. 1. *The Nature and Effects of Love,—* 2. *Upon Youth, tempting it——* 3. *To Marry,——* 4. *Unhappily for Beauty,——* 5. *Without Mony, and——* 6. *To ſwallow the fatal Bait,* 7. *Not anſwering expectation.* 8. *Marry not a famed Beauty.* 9. *Laws concerning Marriage ſomewat ſtrict,——*(10. Tho' perhaps, for the Publick Benefit)— 11. *The reſult of Policy.* 12. Reſtraint troubleſome. 13. *Fruition tedious.* 14. *Wives, Luſt, Jealouſie.* 15. *Diſcomforts from Children——* 16. *And other Wedlock Inconveniencies,—* 17. *Beſt palliated by an Eſtate,—* 18. *Portion, Jointure.* 19, 21. *The unhappineſs of Poor Marriages,——* (20. As well as thoſe too high.) 22. *Travel, to avoid danger, from* 23. *A handſome Woman* 24. *Fond Love an ill Counſellor.* 25. *Children how much to be deſired.* 26. *The Concluſion.* A Poſtſcript to the Women.

III. Travel.

1. *The Conſequents Good and Bad, of Travel,—* 2. *With an Embaſſador,—* 3. *As a Merchant, —* 4. *In Caſe of War,—— whether?* 5. *Directions about——* *Performing Divine Duties,——* 6. *Declining Diſputes——* *of Religion.* 7. *Regulating Zeal.* 8. *Vindicating Cuſtoms.* 9. *Compariſons.* 10. Cenſuring,—Faſhions,--Authors,—Engliſh,— 11. *The*

The Inquiſition, Prohibited Books. 12. *the Euchariſt.* 13. *Crucifixes.* 14. *Foreign Churches.* 15. *Scoffers at their own Religion,*—16. Engliſh *in Orders,*—17. *Or otherwiſe, the worſt Companions.* 18. *Injuries.* 19. *Gaming.* 20. *Women's Favours.* 21. *Impatient Deſires: Charms of Wenches in Love,* 22. *Italian Luſts.* 23. *Gifts.* 24. *Mony, Removes.* 25. *Inns, new Acquaintance, Servants.* 26. *Experience, Languages.* 27. *Mahumetan Incivility.* 28. *Plantations.*

IV. Government.

1. *Change, Commotions, Tumults,* 2. *Ambitious Incendiaries,* 3. *A War for Religion,*—*Oppreſſion.* 4. *Submit to wicked Powers,*— *not approving them.* 5. *Warineſs and Fidelity.* 6. *Submiſſion to,*— 7. *Recognition of Preſent Powers,* 8. *The Original of Dominion; Freſh Families:* —*State*—*Martyrs*—*for Fame.* 9. *Titles of Honour.* 10. *Mean Birth.* 11. *Obligation to Governors, what?* —12. *To A Prince,*—*To a Free State, ſiding.* 13. *Enemies reconciled,*— *truſt not, Ingratitude.* 14. *Courteſies,* Promiſes. 15. *Counſel,* ſudden, premeditated. 16. not to Non-plus a Prince. 17. *Secretaries,* 18. *Intelligencers, Informers,* Minions. 19. *Serving wicked Maſters.* 20. *Obſervance.* 21. Friendſhip. 22. *Dependency.* 23. *Writing things dangerous.* 24 Revealing *Princes Secrets.* 25. *Foreign Intereſts and*— 26. Fools Promotion not to trouble you. 27. *Monarchies and Republicks compared for their Preferments and Dangers.* 28. *Oratory.* 29. One Profeſſion (as the Law) a full Employment. 30. Not to defame in Pleading. 31. *To ſpeak laſt;* — Mr. *Hamden.* 32. Debates in Councils. 33. To imitate more than one. 34. Frailties attend the greateſt Perſons. 35. *No Perfections here.* 36. Succeſs to be aſcribed to Providence. 37. *Directions to Magiſtrates, above*—*Preferments,*—38. *Puniſhments,*—39. *The Souldiery,*— 40. *The Clergy.*

V. Reli-

INDEX.

V. Religion.

1. *The Bible, Church-Expoſitors,* Brightman *out.* 2. Audacious Interpreters to be reſtrained. 3. *Univerſal conſent.* 4. *Profeſſion.* 5. *Hypocriſie, Scandal.* 6. *Criticiſms, School Divinity.* 7. *Controverſies.* 8. *Socinians.* 9. *Popery.* 10. *Purgatory,* &c. 11. *The Reformation.* 12. *Works, Profeſſion, Faith.* 13. *Millenaries.* 14. *Schiſmaticks.* 15. *Levellers.* 16. *The Preſent wild Errors,* 17. *Tend to Anarchy: Moſes, Mahoment.* 18. *Zeal in Exceſs.* 19. *Tender Conſciences.* 20 *Obſtinacy of Hereticks.* 21. Idolatry, Ceremony, Conformity. 22. *Courtiers, and Common Peoples Religion.* 23. *Reaſon, the Scripture, Belief, Antiquity, Revelation, &c.* 24 *Honeſty of Indians.* 25. *Difference of Religions; Good Conſcience.* 26. *Fortune-tellers, Hope, and Fear.* 27. *Divine Vengeance.* 28. *Witchcraft.* 29. *Raſh Cenſures, Charity.* 30. *Impiety, Improbity, Injuſtice.* 31. *Purchaſe of Church Lands.* 32. *Enmity to ——the Clergy——Religion Eſtabliſhed,—— New Lights.* 33. *Tythes.* 34. *Wiſdom of Moſes.* 35. *Wolſey's Folly.*

The Conculſion.

Carriage toward Your—— 1. *Mother.——* 2. *Siſter.* 3. *Dr. Cr.* 4. *Your laſt Will.* 5. *My* Burial,——6. *Death.* 7. *Judgment.* 8. *Cloſe of all.*

THE END.

ADVICE

TO A

SON.

The Second Part.

BY

FRANCIS OSBORN Esq;

LONDON,
Printed for *A.* and *J. Churchill.* 1700.

ADVICE

TO A

SON.

The Stationer *to the* Reader, *concerning this Second Part of* Advice to a Son.

OUR Author, from whom I formerly preſented you with *a Rope of ſmaller Pearls*, viz. *his Adviſoes thredded in a more coherent and Exact Method*, doth now offer theſe *Bigger* ones to *your acceptance ſingle* and *looſe*; which as they are in *Magnitude*, ſo may you not unpoſſibly *rate* them at *a like proportionable Value*. Something of *Confuſion*, you know is taken as a Symbol of *Greatneſs*: But I ſhall only, in the *Author*'s Vindication, preacquaint you, That a Piece of this Nature, will not thereby be of the leſs *ſolid advantage* unto *you*, who may begin and leave off where you pleaſe: *Theſe* being, in all Hands, like *Cards*, more *delightful*, if not *uſeful*, *ſhuffled*, than in *ſuits*; through which all ſorts may be tempted to *Read them over*, and (ſo) not improbably gain a *Knowledge* they would never have ſought for, but upon ſuch an omiſſion: Wherefore whether you conſider the whole *Pack*, or do but *draw here and there*, you ſhall be a *Winner*. And the *Author himſelf* may have the *more* time to employ upon *ſomewhat elſe* in order to *your Service*, being freed from the trouble of any *nicer ſorting theſe Aphoriſms*; which really conſidered, is but the *Pedantick Part* of the *Writer*, and of *moſt uſe*, where there is *leaſt intrinſick worth* in a *Book* to commend it ſelf: The *ſpeciouſneſs* of the *Form* not ſeldom betraying the *Reader's Judgment* to the *ſwallowing* ſuch *ſordid* and *refuſe Matter*, as would be found but a *gilded Dog's* — *if taken in Pieces and throughly Examined.*

TO

To my dear Brother *William Draper*, Eſq; of *Netherworton* in *Oxfordſhire*.

SIR,

SInce it is become a general Cuſtom to affix before Books the Names of the Authors beſt Friends, I could not without calling in queſtion ſo manifeſt a Truth as your Deſert, and running the hazard of being eſteemed ungrateful my ſelf, but preſent you with what follows: For which (however it fares) I ſhall deſcend no lower in my deſires, than that your Name may remain as perpetual a Monument to my Merit, as I am confident it will prove to your Goodneſs, which can never die or be out of credit; whereas Books are during one Age neatly Bound and choicely Preſerved, and the next, condemned to the baſeſt of Employments. Nor had I ever expoſed my ſelf to the danger of a preſent Cenſure, no leſs than a future Contempt, but that I gain by waiting a diverſion from Diſcontent, the higheſt Felicity my Fortune ever gave me leave yet to enjoy: Who, notwithſtanding the cold Commendation Authors find during their Lives, ſhall venture ſo far on the Conſtancy of my own Fortune (which ſome are pleaſed to call Deſert) and the World's Judgment, as to peep abroad again upon my ſingle Security, without ſo much as deſiring your Protection, tho' a frequent Petition in ſuch like Epiſtles, or borrowing Commendations from my Acquaintance, more ready to lend me their good Word, than I was yet able to deſerve it, which doth not ſeldom betray the Reader into the Purchaſe of an ill Book; or at beſt, gratifies his expectation no more than a baſe and rotten Inn can a Traveller, becauſe prefaced by a gawdy Sign-poſt. All I beg is, that in caſe it comes ſhort of former Applauſe, you would conſider Me, not your Self, as the Party abuſed. And not weigh your Acceptance or my Will to Serve you at the common Beam, but by the Standard of your Love, in which you have ſo far exceeded thoſe of my own Blood, as I cannot but acknowledge you, and ſubſcribe my ſelf

Your moſt Affectionate Brother,

FRANCIS OSBORN.

TO

TO THE READERS.

DID *all your* Heads *own a like* Mode *and* Figure, *they could not but be fitted with* ſomething *here might give the* Buyer *ſatisfaction for the Price of the Book; but you are found in the generality, ſo contrary to the* Camelion (*a true Emblem of* Hypocriſie, Levity *and* Sophiſtication) *as not to take the* Colour *for what you judge, from the Tincture of* Senſe *and* Reaſon, *but the* py'd *and* contaminated Conſtructions *fuming from Brains ſuborned out of* Intereſt, *or a contrary practice to Condemn of* Error, Ignorance *or* Irreligion, *all things tho' never ſo modeſtly propoſed, they ſuit not with their* Breeding, *or fall not within the narrow Circle of their* Underſtanding. *An unſociable Lunacy that lies as far below my Notice, as Fortune, which hath alſo advanced me (maugre ſuch contrary Endeavours) in the Opinions of Sublimer Spirits, not only beyond an ordinary* eſteem, but the higheſt I could ever be tempted to *carry of my ſelf. Wherefore tho' I have formerly numbred it amongſt the loweſt Impertinencies, to foreſtal a* Reader's Acceptance *by any other Courtſhip than the choiceſt* endeavour *to give him plenary* Satisfaction; *yet I cannot think it ſuitable with* Gratitude *to paſs* unregarded *ſo much as hath already been ſhewn, or to doubt of the like in future; not to be done without calling in queſtion the* Conſtancy, *if not the* Judgment *of a* conſiderable part of the Nation. *And from hence, and no* Merit *of my own, I do implore this Favour, that in caſe any have formerly, or may hereafter be led into* Scandal *through a* ſiniſter Conſtruction *of what*

I have Writen, *as diſſonant from the* Church of England (*tho' a Queſtion I find, if relating to any, it is rather to others Conſciences than mine own*) *you would excuſe, or paſs it over as an accidental* Lapſe, *or which I hope is truer, a meer* Miſtake, *rather ariſing from a too high Preſumption on the* Reader's Charity, *than any real Defect in mine own; who ever thought it a* leſs Impiety to limit Reaſon than Faith.

If theſe Aphoriſms (*which I proteſt I pick'd out of* waſte Papers *long ſince thrown by*) *appear unſutable to the* Times (*perhaps ſooner led through* Enthuſiaſms *than* Theorems) *I own not a* Forehead *bold enough to deny it.* Nor did I intend *that my* Name *or* Merit *ſhould have ever become the* Argument of Diſcourſe, *but that I found it unpoſſible* to conceal it: *The* Hope *of* which, *and not* Oſtentation *drew me firſt to the* Preſs; *as* want *of a more* profitable Employment *tempts me, being made bold through* Cuſtom, *to feed it.*

A D-

ADVICE to a SON

The Second Part.

THO' it may without queſtion be reckoned amongſt *Solomon's Common Places of Vanity*, yet nothing in this World appears more *Natural* or affects *Imagination* with greater *Delight*, than *the hope Men have their* Names *may extend towards Eternity*; the eſſential *Cauſe* of the moſt, if not all the *Good* and *Evil* we find done, by pious *Benefactors* or deſtructive *Tyrants*; whatſoever the *firſt* may pretend in relation to *Religion*, or the *latter* ſuffer in reference to *Policy*. The *Propagation of Fame*, tho' confeſſed *flatulent Humor*, being hardly to be found abſent from *Fortitude* and *Charity*, or any other *Virtue*, to *Martyrdom* it ſelf. *Glory* being the moſt *acceptable* thing we can *enjoy here*, or *hope for hereafter*; the *Aim* both of the *Covetous* and *Prodigal*, the *Valiant* and *Coward*; the one ſeeking to gain it through the *expoſing*, the other by a more wary *preſervation* of his *Life* and Eſtate, *all running* through *contrary ways*, after the gawdy *Ball* of *Fame*; which tho' every one deſires to find his *Name* Ingraven upon, yet none *out-reach* the *Records* of *Paper*, *Writing* being the moſt *approved Recipe*, yet *diſcovered* againſt *conſuming Oblivion*, which infects the *Actions* of the *beſt* of Princes, and benights thoſe of the *worſt*; who do not ſeldom *owe* their *Repute* to Strangers. *Wherefore* ſince there cannot be a more *innocent* and *probable* way to *dilate* a *Remembrance* beyond the *Banks* of *Forgetfulneſs*, than *Books*; why may not I (indebted to none but my own dear-bought *Experience*) be al- *The Proem.*

lowed the *Vanity* (if capable of ſuch a Title) to *affix* my *Name* (ſince unable to build it a more laſting *Monument*) before theſe *Papers?* where it may live, if *reſcued* out of the *over-officious* and *ſtrict* Hands of *Contemporaries*, the moſt *ſevere Cenſurers* of the *Writings* of the *preſent Age*, who in the Abſence of other *juſter Pretences*, will *rather* (than want Matter for *Reproof*) with the *Maligners* of the *Prophet Daniel*, pick ſomething to *carp* at, in relation to *God* or the *Magiſtracy*; Tho' none are *leſs buſie* in arraigning the *Lapſes of Power*, or remain *more obedient* to the *Yoke of Government*, than ſuch as know there can be no *Safety* or *Property* without it. Yet many *half-witted-Men*, preſuming on the ſingle Warrant of their own *purblind Judgments*, do not only overſtride the Opinion of the *Major Part* for *Number* and *Weight*, but the Dictates of their own *Conſcience*; who cannot but *know*, if they have any *Knowledge* at all, that the *Wiſdom*, to which *Solomon Perſwades* no leſs than *Adorns* with ſo many *Divine Epithites*, voting it the *Companion of the Almighty, Artificer of Nature, and without whoſe Aſſiſtance nothing ever was, or is, of that hath been made. The Director of Angels in the Preſervation of Man*, and *the Tutor of Man to all the Underſtanding a Creature is able to comprehed in reference to its Maker*, is thereby *blaſphemed* in her *Children*, no leſs than her *King reproached*; as if the *Followers* of the *Paths* to *Heaven* could be *Leaders* to *Hell*, or not rather *Heirs* of the rich *Donative* our Bleſſed *Saviour* gives to all ſhall *knock* and *ſeek* at the *Gates* of *Eternal Knowledge*; where no Voice is *intelligible* but that of *Wiſdom*, the *Dialect of God*. Nor did I ever yet meet the owner of ſo *impudent* a *Preſumption*, amongſt all the *Recorders* of *Reaſon*, as durſt venture our dull and *callous Knowledge* againſt the *Activity* of an *Eagle-wing'd Faith*; but do confeſs a little claudication in their *Underſtandings* as *Jacob* found in his *Leg*, after a *Wreſtling with his Maker*. Yet ſince Saint *Paul* draws the *Bill* of *Indictment* out of the *Book of God's Univer-*

ſal

ſal Goodneſs (to none legible, but through the Light of *Reaſon*) it cannot but afford Cauſe to magnifie the *Eternal Mercy* towards *Chriſtians*, in giving them *Faith* to regulate their *Works*, and ſupport their *Wiſdom*, without which it becomes *fooliſhneſs* to *God*; wherefore in no other Senſe capable of the Name of *Knowledge*.

2. Neglect or diſſemble the receipt of any Injury, till Time meaſure you out a competent proportion of Charity to forgive, or ſo much Power as may requite or contemn it; leſt you convert into a Habit, or Irreconcilable Enmity, ſuch Words or Actions as might not unpoſſibly at firſt, reſult from no more bitter a Root than Chance or Miſtake in you both. Wherefore no Prudence, to put the worſt Conſtruction on all you hear or ſee, as ſuch peeviſh and melancholy Conſtitutions do, who like Glaſſes retain in their Fancies, as meerly relating to themſelves, the Reflections of all things paſs in their Preſence. For ſince the Eyes, Tongues and Looks, are the Windows and Doors no leſe than Interpreters of the Hearts of Men, and ſo the buſineſs of Wiſdom, to keep every thing from breaking out, that may be ſafer hid than revealed: It implies a like Caution ought to be had in reference to that is ſuffered to enter. Nor doth it want of a through Inſpection into this, ſeldom ſpoil the Affairs of Princes, no leſs than meaner Men's; who by meaſuring the Perſons Will to advance or depreſs their Deſigns, accord to ſuch Hopes and Fears as they calculate proportionable to their own former deſert or inconſiderate opinion of the party, mar their Market, not only through a too great Confidenc to receive at need all the Friendſhip they have dearly paid for, but an over-jealouſie of ill from ſuch as they look upon in their Apprehenſions as diſobliged. The Exchange of Courteſies or Injuries running high or low, not according to an exact proportion of Equity, but the value, 'tis rated at in the Eſteem of the Receiver. Thus the old Earl of *Eſſex*, by placing

The precipitate Revenge, no prudence.

a greater Confidence in the Citizens of *London*, where he ſpent his Revenue, than in *Wales*, from whence he Received, it denudated himſelf of the moſt probable Protection the extremity of his bad Fortune had left him. His Tenants and Friends being more likely to have proved Cordial at a diſtance from the Court, than thoſe found to gather their Livelihood under the Shadow of it; and ſo more probable to Increaſe, than Raiſe, a Power firſt in his Favour. Which maturely weighed, proves the Study of Friends, and Enemies, the moſt Politick and Uſeful Imployment.

No Enemy ſo contemptible, as to be deſpiſed.

3. Deſpiſe no Enemy, eſpecially at Court; For where Jealouſie holds the Scales, a ſmall dram of Detraction will turn the Beam. Men's Lives no leſs than Fortunes being ſo unſteady, as they lie obnoxious to Blaſting by the Breath of far meaner Perſons than themſelves; who making uſe of all Advantages do not rarely bring greater Srength, Wiſdom and Innocency than their own to deſtruction; ſo that the World hath been abuſed through an often repeated Tradition, if a Fool of State did not help to anticipate the Death of a hopeful Prince. And if the Endeavours of Malice and Revenge be thus prevalent in a Court, where Civility and Law pretend at leaſt to Command; how prejudicial muſt the neglect of this Caution appear in the Field where nothing but *Paſſion* is obeyed, and all Advantages conducing to Safety, allowed in Prudence, if not Honour? And where Fortune to exerciſe the dominion ſhe uſurps over Strength, and Probability, ſuffered a Dwarf not long ſince to kill a Man. This makes me admire the Valor more than diſcretion of an acquaintance of mine, that met an Armed Enemy in a formal and premeditated Duel with a Wooden Dagger and a rebated Rapier. I confeſs this gallant Soul did worſt him; which appear'd leſs, becauſe no more than his contempt ingaged him to. But if Chance (the Lady of ſuch events) had turned her face the other way, his honour and prudence, if not Life (ſeldom ranſomed, if at the mercy of a Coward) had been loſt in the indiſcretion of the

Action;

Action: The generality taking no other proſpect of things than through the Event: And under this Topick may be included ſuch as return a diſarmed Enemy his Sword, with a number of Follies more incident to a Romantick Valour.

4. *Have Peace with all Men*, is as wholſom an Aphoriſm in Policy as Divinity. But being uncapable of ſo ſtrict an Obſervation as in Religion and Prudence it deſerves, let me Adviſe you to ſhun, or break off all Conteſts with much inferiour Perſons to your ſelf. And becauſe Example receives a more lively Tincture from Memory, than Precept, I ſhall inſtance it as a blot in the greateſt *Rochet* that did in my time appear in the Court of *England*, or indeed any I ever heard of ſince the Reformation: Who mannaged a Quarrel with *Archy* the King's Fool, and by endeavouring to explode him the Court, rendred him at laſt ſo conſiderable, by calling the Prelates Enemies (which were not a few) to his reſcue, as the fellow was not only able to continue the diſpute for divers years, but received ſuch incouragements from the Standers-by, as he hath oft, in my hearing, belched in his Face ſuch miſcarriages as he was really guilty of, and might, but for this foul mouth'd *Scot* have been forgotten: Adding ſuch other reproaches of his own, as the dignity of his Calling and greatneſs of his Parts could not in Reaſon or Manners admit; tho' ſo far hoodwink'd with Paſſion, as not to diſcern that all the Fool did was but a Symptom of the ſtrong and inveterate Diſtemper raiſed long before in the Hearts of his Countrymen againſt the calling of Biſhops; out of whoſe former Ruins the major part of the *Scottiſh* Nobility had feathered, if not built their Neſts. Nor did this too low placed Anger lead him into a leſs abſurdity, than an endeavour to bring him into the *Star-Chamber*, till the Lord *Coventry* had, by acquainting him with the Previledge of a Fool, ſhewn the ridiculouſneſs of the Attempt: Yet not ſatisfied, he, through the mediation of the Queen, got him at

To contend with inferiors brings diſcredit.

laſt diſcharged the Court; whither he brought after the ſame Mind under a Cloak, as he had before born in his Fools Coat. Nor is it more Wiſdom for any, eſpecially Kings, to drive baſe People into the dark corners of Deſpair, where they do not only loſe the Senſe of their own Felicity, in becoming Inſtrumental to the Malice and Ambition of others, but all Duty and natural Reſpect to Friends, Religion, and Governors.

A Friend neceſſary to a Courtier.

5. A true Friend becomes the Fortune of every Profeſſion, but is the moſt neceſſary Utenſil I did ever obſerve belonging to a Perſon at Court; where Eyes are ſo ſealed up and covered with prejudice, Envy, &c. as little Notice is taken of the higheſt Deſert, till through the Approbation of a ſtander-by they are pointed to it. The Mode of Princes being, as I have often found, to reſt better ſatisfied with others Atteſtations, than their own. The Cauſe that in Places, Merit is leſs vendible at the firſt than ſecond Hand; proceeding commonly from the Modeſty of the Party, which Defect none but a faithful Friend is able to ſupply. I could name a couple of *Jeſuites* (no ways miraculous for Parts, conſidering the foreign Advantages received from their Relations and Breeding) who did by making it their Buſineſs to cry up one the other in all Companies and upon every Occaſion, ſwell themſelves to ſuch a Repute, as they became in a ſhort time able to benight the apprehenſion of a Prince in his own opinion no mean Politician.

To oblige a Prince or State, dangerous.

6. Tho' it is your Duty no leſs than Honour to have deſerved well of Church or State; yet it may be no unſeaſonable Advice (*conſidering how ſoon the beſt of Subjects have their Deſert expunged by Envy or Forgetfulneſs, after their Uſe is over*) to extend Expectation beyond the preſent Occaſion: By which you may have the Hope to continue your Princes Favour, commonly concluſive where Expectation ceaſeth. Wherefore the well managing of Merit is none of the weakeſt Effects of Prudence, becauſe uncapable to be reſtrained within the compaſs of any general Rules. Signal

Signal Actions being not ſeldom ſo huddled up by Fortune, as they are in a ſhor time forgotten, or much leſſened by Sharers and Envy, before the principal Operator is able to make his beſt Market of them: To whom a brave Achievement hath ſometimes proved fatal; *Nothing more terrible in the Eyes of Majeſty, than the Apparition of an unrewarded Deſert*; whoſe chiefeſt Mediators are Shame, Hope or Fear; wherefore he that keeps not all or one of thoſe for his Friend, may expect a Reward from Heaven ſooner than Earth. The old Earl of *Briſtol* was none of the moſt imperfect Scholars in this Leſſon; who, through a prodigious dexterity became the *Confident of two Princes*, that drove on, if not contrary, divers Deſigns. And was at his Return able to appear before the *Engliſh* Parliament, where he worſted the greateſt Minion, the Folly, Love or Wiſdom, of any King ſince the Conqueſt ever bred in this Nation.

7. I note it as a great blemiſh, and ſo much the more deplorable becauſe not ſeldom mingled with the *beſt parts for a Man to cry up his own Excellencies.* Through which, tho' the ſimple may be led into Admiration, it produceth from the more Judicious, Contempt and Envy: Conjuring up a ſeverer ſcrutiny into the parties perſonal Lapſes and Natural Imperfections, than Prudence ought to Alarum. *A modeſt rate put by the Owner upon his peculiar Deſert, being the moſt artificial Medium to multiply Fame.* Tho' the ſame Aphoriſms in Morality, no more than thoſe of Phyſick are not always found to work the ſame effects upon all Complexions and Conſtitutions; the contrary being ordinary through Ignorance, or a Prejudice ariſing from a different opinion. For let the Speaker utter never ſo rational and exact a Truth, nothing but what quadrates with the Companies reſpective underſtandings and experience, can ſettle upon him the Hearers Belief: Not ſeldom better Gratified with a probable Lye, than in the ſerious relation of a more prodigious Truth. The predication of which is not only an Incroachment upon the ſole Immunity of Thrones

Self-praiſe great imprudence.

Thrones and Pulpits, but a dangerous Intrusion upon the elements of Civility; so far as sometimes to produce quarrels, ever disputes: Not in Reason to be looked upon by the Reporter, under a modester notion than a return of the Lye. Nor can such Improbabilities at best, pass their Hearers, without the thoughts of being slighted by the Relator; as owners (in his opinion) of a Credulity capable to be deluded. *And this maturely considered might hang the Lock of a greater restraint upon the Mouths of Travellers, Huntsmen, Mountebanks,* &c. who to render their Professions of more value, than, if brought to the Candle, they might possibly appear to be, do torture their Company with no less Impertinent, than Improbable Relations. And if it were as far warranted by discretion, *To name the Persons that have smutted their Fame through a breach of this Topick,* as is fit to avoid the like excess, you would bless your self to hear the Recital of so many brave Spirits, and such whose Desert is impregnable against the storms of Time, which this Quality hath, to my knowledge, worsted in their Repute, so far as to render them ridiculous in Company; of which I shall leave you this one nameless Example of a Knight, who using to make Multiplying Glasses of what he in his long and great Travels had observed, professed he once conversed with a *Hermit* that was, in the opinion of all Men, able to commute any Metal into Gold with a Stone he kept still hanging at his Girdle; and being asked *of what kind it was*, and not readily answering, the witty Lord of St. *Albans* standing by, said, he did verily believe it was a Whet-stone, *&c.*

Neither may it be happily amiss here, to dissuade you from all immoderate praise or dispraise of any person or Thing your experience or acquaintance hath had the Fortune to cope withal, lest some in Company, out of an humor of contradiction (no less frequent than odious to Society) or a dissatisfaction, should assume the contrary Cudgel, and by that engage you in an ungrateful

grateful diſpute, or a more deſtructive and ridiculous Quarrel; as befel an Earl at *Greenwich*, that received ſome prejudice in his Honour from the Ma. of *Ham*, for crying up the *civility* of *Spain* higher than that of *England*; which grew at laſt to ſuch Terms, as might have produced worſe Effects, had not the Earls Wiſdom directed him to the Throne, *&c.*

8. Tho' Kings, and Perſons in ſuperlative Power, when looſe from ſerious employments, aſſume ſo far the ſociable Humors of Humanity, as to break out into *ſprightful and facetious extravagancies* with other Courtiers; yet ought not this Freedom to allure them into ſo high and Familiar a Preſumption, as to retaliate the like again, ſince Scorn or Smart proportionates not its acceptance to the extent of this Innocency and good meaning of the Subject that firſt gave the occaſion, but the Jealouſie of the Prince that received it. Such Accidents, tho' they may paſs current during the ſhort time of a preſent Commerce, yet do not fail upon Rumination, and the Tincture, Enemies are found to give all that may advance their Profit and Malice, to change the former ſuperſcription of Mirth and impreſs of Love, into an inveterate Hatred and thirſt for Revenge. An Inſtance hereof appears in *William* Earl of *Pembroke*, none of the leſt obſequious Obſervers of the Times; who naturally or rather cuſtomarily (ſince the former may be liable to queſtion) abominating a Frog, had one thrown into his Neck by King *James*; and did in requital cauſe a Pig (of an equal diſguſt with the ſame Prince) to be put under his Cloſe-ſtool; where tho' it produced no extraordinary ill effect for the preſent, it being as uſual a thing with his Majeſty to be frighted, as *&c.* Yet after the Prank (innocent enough in it ſelf) had been diſcanted upon, and the worſt of Interpretations made by ſome (the Title of *Jews* being at that time uſually given to the *Scots*) the King was much affected with it; and the more, becauſe done at *Wilton* under the Earl's own Roof; it remaining always a Natural

To jeſt with Princes not ſafe.

Natural or Uſurped *Prerogative in Princes*, if not of all in Power, to put *their particular Senſe on the Words and Actions of inferior Perſons.* Wherefore he that relates wholly to the Honour or Friendſhip of his Prince, had need of more Patience and Circumſpection than doth ordinarily attend a Free Birth, or ſuch as remain galled through any foreign Diſcontent or Anxiety, which renders the Patient tuchy and unadviſed.

Counſel to be given with Caution.

9. It is not prudence, through contrary Counſel, to tamper over-much in the Miſcarriages of others not relating to your own Intereſt, eſpecially if abſolutely flown beyond all recovery of Prevention: For tho', like Phyſick, it may appear of wholeſome Conſequence for the Future, it remains at the preſent of no good ſavour to the Party, and renders the ſight of him it is received from, ungrateful. Wherefore with much caution, if at all to be Adminiſtred to People of Quality, who do not ſeldom inſtead of doubling their own Circumſpection, only place a ſtricter Watch upon the Informer, in hope to pay him in the ſame Coin, never Current but amongſt thoſe of choiſe and candid Natures: Counſel implying, in moſt Peoples Opinions, *an overprizing your own Judgment, and debaſing of others.*

To laugh at a miſchance uncharitable.

10. It is no leſs violation of Friendſhip, than Charity, to laugh when another by accident falls into a Miſchance; and hath proved, in my Experience, the original of many Quarrels, and bred a ſtrangeneſs between Perſons before very Intimate in Affection. Wherefore it ought to be refrained towards People of mean quality, leſt cuſtom ſhould render it more difficult to abſtain from it, if the ſame fortune becomes the Lot of a greater Man or dearer Acquaintance; as it fell out at the New Lodge by *Barnet*; where, after a great Dinner, King *James* walking out, and ſomething neglected by ſuch as led him, ſtumbling at a *Mole-Hill*, fell down, and mannaged his Legs after ſo ridiculous a poſture as many of the Company could not hold from Laughter; which his Majeſty took ſo ill, as he called them

them Traytors, and proteſted Revenge; nor would he ſuffer any of them to take him up, till Mr. *John Weſt* the Keeper, at whoſe Houſe and Charge the Entertainment was, came, and by a witty Conceit (of which he was full) fetched them off: Swearing, *no good Subject could refrain to rejoyce at his Majeſties activity, to ſee him ſo nimble, as to come over and over*: Now tho' this Buffoonery did for the preſent ſeem to compound for the real folly of the reſt, that had ſeen and forgot many things the Court might have learned them; yet the King did remember ſome of them, as no well-wiſhers to his continuance in being, but rather inclining to, &c. *To conclude*, if it was thought manners by our Anceſtors, not to be covered whileſt another Sneezed, it can be no Charity or Deſcretion to Laugh when he is likely to break his Neck.

To upbrade any with natural defects uncivil.

11. It becomes not Charity no more than Diſcretion, to upbraid others with ſuch Imperfections, as may by accident fall to, or accompany People from their Birth: No more in the Owners power to help, than it lies in the Scorners ability to ſhield his own Perſon or iſſue from falling into a like Diſaſter: *None being ſo preciſely happy*, as not ſooner or latter, in their Bodies, Minds, Families, or Eſtates, to receive ſome blemiſh, if not an ugly mulct from the Hand of Fortune; *to whoſe injuries the beſt Men are ſubject during this Life.*

Eſpecially with Baſtardy.

But that which appears the higheſt Injuſtice is the imputation of Baſtardy, in no Nation looked upon under ſo great a notion of Reproach, as amongſt the *Engliſh*; tho' for the moſt part recompenſed with the Richeſt Indowments. For if a Fault, it belongs ſolely to the Parents; wherefore the leſs diſcernible through what Organ of Equity, *any more than an ordinary humane contamination ſhould attach the Child.* Since the ſingle Security of a Wife (of no great validity in other things) is the chief authentick proof we can produce for the integrity of theſe we eſteem moſt Legitimate. From whence we may learn how to rate their Malice,

Malice, That miſſing of matter conſiderable to traduce the Reign of Queen *Elizabeth*, rake in her Birth for the Faults (if capable to be called ſo) of her Father. Forgetting, no ſuch thing as Baſtardy, in relation to plurality of Wives and Concubines, can be allowed in Nature, without aſperſing the Patriarchs and People of God; Wherefore the contrary Cuſtom cannot be of validity enough to queſtion the Deſcent of a Prince, whoſe Poſſeſſion of the Crown is not only ſufficient to create a Title, but what Ceremony (in all things not diametrically oppoſite to the apparent dictates of God) ſhall be impoſed upon the Subject. Monarchs themſelves remaining diſcharged and uncapable of limitation by Cuſtom or any Law that is but meerly reſpective to Decency and Order; ſo as King *James* and his *Son* tho' the higheſt Indulgers of the Eccleſiaſtical Canons and Inſtitutions, Have often to my knowledge ſo far diſpenſed with the Legal hours appointed for Matrimony, as to exchange them from Morning to Night; things meerly Complemental vaniſhing in the preſence of the Supream Magiſtrate. Nor was any thing in the moſt rigid opinion wanting to her Legitimation, but a Diſpenſation, *profeſſed by all Hiſtorians, Signed*, Sealed and ſent into *England*. Now tho' the Pope did retract it, out of Reaſon of State, and dread of *Charles* V. whoſe Aunt Queen *Catherine* was, I preſume the *Holy Ghoſt*, under the protection of whom *his Holineſs aſſumes the Power of not erring, can in no Mans opinion be thought to repent the approving what none but an impudent Malice is able to queſtion, the Lawfulneſs of Kings* being in all places left to a greater Liberty, than Subjects may in a ſtricter Senſe be liable to. It remaining implorable to conjecture, that *Henry* VIII. ſhould Repudiate ſo Virtuous a Lady out of a leſs trivial deſire than the obtaining the Nations Quiet, and prevent Civil War; by leaving behind him an *Heir of his Body*. But to lay aſide ſuch babbles, only conſiderable with Children and Fools, he had the conſent of all unintereſted Divines be-

beyond Seas, together with a considerable number of the most Learned in his own Church; from whom there is no Natural, if a just Appeal to any but God, or an Impartial Council, *a Phœnix not likely to be found, till the old Man of sin be consumed, and our Saviour in his own Person become Monarch of the whole Earth.* Thus when the Gall of Interest and Malice becomes mingled with Ink, it doth not only blot and disfigure the Beauty of Truth, but the Honour of all Authors that endeavour to maintain it.

12. Some Families are noted of a Propensity more to Folly, Lust, Infelicity, Stammering, *&c.* Others to Beauty, Temperance, Modesty, Probity, Hospitality, with many respective mulcts and benevolences in Nature. The Causes of which may be easier sought for, than found amongst the perfections and blemishes of Ancestors. Since the Belly being changed upon every Descent, it remains little probable the Burden should retain the same marks from any more occult quality than Imitation: As may be guessed from an Honourable Family, noted for *many Generations to Stutter*, and another that retained *a Cast with their Eyes:* Both which may in my Opinion, be attributed in more probability to the effects of an *ordinary Commerce than any quality inherent in their Nature.* *The Issues not bearing the Marks of their Ancestors, an ill ground of Jealousy.*

The longer than ordinary succession of great Lips observed in the House of *Austria*, cannot appear a Miracle to any that considers they have not, for many Ages, *Married out of their neareſt Kinred.* I note this, not only to guard you from Jealousie, the most impertinent Devil Fancy can be at any time haunted with: but to prevent falling into the common Error both of the Ancient and Modern Philosophers, that ground Conclusions upon bare Report, or at best, single Experiments, which Exposeth them to easie Confutations: Manifest in *Pliny*, &c.

13 If

The multiplying of Crosses highest folly.

13. If it be the highest Advantage deducible from the Study of Philosophy, *Calmly to bear the affronts of Fortune*, how can the depth of their Indiscretion be fathomed, that, *absolved from Personal Causes of Discontent*, extract the Spirit of Anxiety out of such remote Accidents, as Custom, not Nature hath laid in the way of Humane Felicity, through which we become more unadvised than Beasts. And amongst these many be numbred *the immoderate desire of, and care for Children*; in some so ridiculous and intemperate, as to let themselves and their Families (of which they are part) to want all things for the present, (the only time we can call ours) out of hope to leave them something after their death: which doth prove as often too much as too little. Since through this excess (like an over-proportion of Bias on a Bowl) they are led out of all care for greater preferment, or becoming better than at first they were left: who quite unacquainted with the use of Mony, are as far to seek how to improve, as decently to spend it. Yet in my apprehension, no perturbation bears the Marks of a more ridiculous Folly than lies patent in an impertinent Jealousie, in relation to Women; no more able to ransom their Repute out of the hands of Detraction, than the Patient is to gratifie his Curiosity with a pleasanter Recipe than an apparent Detection. Thus, by snatching up Negative Evil we render our selves insensible of any positive Good: Like Children, who if dispossest or denied the gauds of others, will in a peevish humour throw away their own. Nor are we seldom cast into a present trouble, out of the contemplation of *Mischiefs not yet arrived: The things we fear resembling so far those we desire, that for the most part they seem greater at a distance, than nearer hand:* From whence the Mind may be judged as crazed and infirm as the Body, and no less affected with Vapours. Nor are these Distempers so frequent in vulgar and empty Heads, as those stuffed with Learning; a meer Drug, and in this, like *Rhubarb, whose Operations are far more*

As an immoderate desire of, or care for Posterity.

Impertinent jealousy.

effectual

effectual upon a slight infusion than taken in the Mass; not seldom observed rather to obstruct than open the Organs of Understanding, which ought not to be crammed faster than she is able to concoct, nor kept in a Coop without taking the prospect of all worldly experience; A rude quantity of Intricate notions being apter to augment Sail, than Ballast: the major part of Learning appearing like Diamonds, richer in splendor than use: And cannot, alone, and unassisted by the conversation of all sorts of Professions measure out the true and Mathematical Latitude of earthly felicity, not prohibited by, though bounded within the compass of reason; in whose absence it is either lost in excess, or smothered in restraint; flattered into the first through Voluptuousness, and confined to the other by Law and Education; which makes them to suspect all things pleasant, of Sin, whereas the contrary is more likely to be natural. Since at long running, others more indulged by Policy, are found to meet at the same Market, or a worse. And to draw us with more ease into the Iron Traps of Infelicity and Restraint, they bate them with the Scraps of a broken hope and childish allurement, that our Fathers were caught before us. Yet the wily Priests, quite discharged of the Lumber of a Family, and all Oppression incident to a Secular life, cannot but injoy the most felicity, vainly sought under any but a free condition, which all enjoy so far as they are willing, or left able by others to unconcern themselves of the world: which no protection can so totally perform as that of the *Roman* Church, in which like a Cave or Grotto, such of the Ecclesiasticks as are any way superintendent over others, are situated under as moderate an aspect during the Sun-shine of Prosperity, as the storms of an adverse fortune; the thunders of war (I mean till this sulphurous age) seldom breaking out over their Cells. But now since the blood of the Saints together with their names are expunged, the Gates and

Doors of the Sanctuary, Good Works have loſt their value, and nothing more in eſteem than new Opinions. Wherefore ſince in the abſence of a protection from the Altar, nothing remains without able to ſecure us quite from the ſenſe of Oppreſſion, let us turn our endeavours towards ſuch remedies as Prudence and Philoſophy are found to preſcribe us. And according to our advice, pack up our hopes and fears into as narrow a room as we can poſſibly, by which we ſhall render the laſt more portable, and the firſt leſs tedious. And in reference to this, all affections beyond the degrees of a natural and compelled Neceſſity, or any thing likely to dilate them, are warily to be avoided, during the beſt times, as contrary to felicity; and in the worſt, as obſtructors of the ways to evaſion, The moſt uſeful Knack belonging to the Engine of Life.

Patience and Moderation moſt neceſſary in humane life.

14. No Vertues deſerve to be more indulged, both in our ſelves and others, than Patience and Moderation: The firſt being no leſs requiſite to arm us againſt the open Hoſtility of Fortune, than the other to guard us from the exceſſes that do uſually accrue to ſuch as are placed in the gaudy Pageant of her favour; and therefore kept in compaſs with the greater difficulty, becauſe bounded by no more foreign or external a check than the Party is able to give out of the ſtrength of his own Judgment, prompted by an experience had of her uncertain Carriage, whereas ill Luck (or to ſpeak more Chriſtian) a ſeeming deſertion of the benignity of Providence, is rendred much the more ſupportable through an abſolute Neceſſity, and ſo under an unavoidable reſtraint, rather impoſed than voluntarily ſubmitted to. The rareſt precedent for Moderation I ever met with, was the laſt Biſhop of *London*, who extracted by the Chymiſtry of this Mountebank Deity, and Alembecked through a number of great Mutations, from one of the meaneſt of Vicars, to the higheſt of Treaſurers, was in none of them elated above the Meridian of the ground he firſt ſtood on,

or

or did debauch through the miscarriage the dignity of place he passed through: Nor did he suffer with a more sullen brow, the breaking of all the Glasses this pied Goddess had blown in his favour; but did after the Curtains were drawn, and the Tragedy acted, without any visible reluctancy turn his eyes towards the same Landskip of Country pleasures, he had, as it were, against his will, been taken from. I have (dear Son) but named him, whom I esteem fit to be placed in your heart for the best pattern of Moderation I ever met with, as he might have remained for patience, had he not been eclipsed through the far greater sufferings of a Person more splendid, and no less miraculous in this Vertue, as none can attest better than this Prelate, whose Patron he was.

15. I find the Oeconomicks, though most useful to Being, the least esteem'd with our Gallants; looked upon by some as trivial, by others as dishonourable and unbecoming a Masculine Imployment; yet a total neglect of them may be found in experience the ruine of the greatest Families in *England*, as their more exact prosecution keeps up mens Estates in *Italy*; where the Inhabitants are celebrated as most generally wise, and therefore not unfitly proposed in this for an universal pattern, but where they border too near the Confines of penury and baseness, most unbecoming the Custom and Plenty of *England*; and where, in this particular (till the Sword received a Commission from God to devour all things good and honourable in the Land) our Noblemen equalled the Princes, and our King exceeded in Hospitality all the Monarchs in the known World: And might yet have done more, had the true Elements of Thrift been maintained in an equal proportion, by providing all things at the best hand, and making use of Times and Seasons; In which I confess so much as purely belongs to Housewifery, ought, if not in discretion, yet in reverence to Custom, to be left to Women, provided

Oeconomicks neglected the ruine of great families.

vided they own abilities competent for the imployment: which is yet ſometimes ſo far contradicted by Experience, as the firſt Leak of a Husbands fortune is found to riſe in the Kitchin, and ſuch Rooms as a Man of quality cannot decently viſit. Nor is there a better way patent to obviate this falling into a Hectick, through ſuch a diſentry, than by an equal ballancing all weekly accounts; never noted by Wiſdom any more blemiſh to honour than to know how many Horſes he keeps in the Stable, a place that cannot be denied to be made, by Uſe rather than Reaſon, more becoming his preſence than the Paſtry or Larder: Nor is the Keeping of a regulated expence (magnified rather than decried in the higheſt Courts of Wiſdom) Neglected ſo much out of Scorn as Defect, Fathers, eſpecially Rich ones, being ſo far to learn themſelves what is moſt fit their Children ſhould be taught, as they keep them ſo long in their Latin School, till the time is lapſed moſt proper for Reading, and to make a Perfect Accomptant: The moſt neceſſary part of the Mathematicks, and ſo much as cannot be in any commerce ſpared. It remaining indubitable, that none ſo induſtrious as to call himſelf to a weekly, or at leaſt an annual reckoning, did ever through his own default ſpend an Eſtate. Whereas the want of this firſt rudiment of Thrift, hath within the compaſs of my experience, brought divers to a bit of Bread, and demoliſhed the Houſes of the moſt Ancient Gentry of *England*. Now if any deſire to underſtand how our more illiterate Fathers came to eſcape this Curſe; an Anſwer lies ready, That the greateſt part of their Revenues did conſiſt in proviſions of all ſorts, paid punctually at a day, and ſo eaſily accounted for and remembred. And this abundance they enjoyed, kept them pleaſed and in friendſhip with their Eſtates, wanting neither company nor reſpect; through which they became leſs liquoriſh after the glory and ſmall delights of *London*, and the Court: towards which they did

Arithmetick the moſt neceſſary part of Mathematicks.

ſeldom

ſeldom look, but upon conſtraint; having never taſted them in Youth, as now they do, the only time to contract an affection to any place or thing. So as what we call the Breeding of our Gentry, is the main Reaſon of their undoing; the glorious aſpects the City affords rendring the more ſolid Pleaſures of the Country contemptible and diſtaſtful. And thus infatuated from the hope of a redemption by an Office or Wife, they drop into an Ocean of Debts, between the Scylla and Charybdis of a *London* and Country-Houſe; which for want of moderating their expence (a thing Arithmetick is the readieſt, if not the only means to Reform) it becomes no leſs terrible to look upon in relation to ſolitute and dilapidations, than unſafe to abide in, for fear of the Sheriff. But however this may prove good counſel to others, it is of ſmall concernment to you; who I thank God, are of another temper and a more Mathematical Education.

16. Great Wealth is not ſeldom the birth-right of Fools, being for the moſt part a reſult of the Fathers covetouſneſs: And therefore found more eaſy for ſuch Heirs to double, than to expend with honour, decency, and moderation ſo much of it as is fit to be allotted for Hoſpitality, out of vaſt Revenues. The moſt likely reaſon why the Families of Citizens are conſumed throught Prodigality, or bear to Poſterity the marks of baſeneſs, becauſe unacquainted with the true Elements of Houſe-keeping, through an equal mixture and moderate temper of which, Honour comes to be generated in the opinion of the World: There appearing as wide a difference (for the moſt part) betwixt a Gentleman of blood, and one of Fortune, as lies between the confines of Moderation and Exceſs. From whence it often chanceth that Mechanick wealth doth become rather a misfortune than a bleſſing, by procuring not only Diſeaſes, but bringing Bravoes and Trapanners like Drones and Waſps into the Houſes of ſuch ignorant Gallants, as by rea-

Great wealth ſometimes a ſnare.

ſon of a low breeding are not able to apprehend what is convenient, or take the true height of their acquaintance, and an exact ſurvey of what company may with decency and ſafety be kept. From whence we may conclude it eaſier to attain Wealth, than the Wiſdom to ſpend it without tranſgreſſing the rules of moderation, or falling upon the extreams of baſeneſs and exceſs.

No relation beſides a Father to be confided in.

17. Sad experience hath, amongſt others, left me this unqueſtioned Legacy, That no Relation below a Father is to be confided in by Younger Children. The fear of having their Jointure queſtioned, Obliging a partiality in Widows towards their Firſt-born; a Term more pernicious to the major part of Mankind, than the deſtruction of it might poſſibly prove to the perſecutors and oppreſſors of the Children of God: Theſe Gypſies (found commonly Slaves to their Wives or Vices) and performing their task in this World under a richer Canopy of Honour than ſome of their younger Brethren ever ſtood near, have, beſides the Cruelties and unnatural burdens they lay upon them, through their power and a bare deception in Law, converted into ſtubble the ſtraw their moſt charitable Fathers left their Brethren to cover them withal. And for Uncles, *&c.* their Eyes are ſo intent upon the ſplendor of the Houſe, as they overſee, out of fear or ambition, all but the top branch, commonly the weakeſt.

But leſt Intereſt ſhould tranſport me into a general declamation againſt the moſt Noble part of the Nation, out of a particular experience of the ill Nature of ſome; I ſhall conclude with an advice to put all younger Children to ſuch courſes as may protect them from undoing by the worſt of Heirs. It being unlikely the Laws of *England* ſhould ſtand unbent in their favour, ſo long as they remain the major part in all Parliaments, and have not throughly ſurveyed the ways to Infelicity and Ruin. And for Daughters,

the

they do not ſeldom prove miſerable through great Portions; which cauſes ſnares to be laid for them in every place; they becoming the lot of Serving-men, or Royſters: or in caſe the old Churl attains a more honourable deſign, though perhaps leſs diſcreet (it not being a rarity in Cuſtom to ſee ſuch deſpiſed, and their Mony and Eſtates ſpent to feed others more acceptable, though leſs rich.) A Lady thus created out of a Daughter (of theſe ordinary Inſect Generations) proving in the generality the moſt deſpicable animal breathing.

Great portions a ſnare to Daughters.

18. Nothing is expunged with more difficulty than the Lines *Cuſtom* and *Education* have formerly drawn in the credulity of Youth; which through a no leſs Indiſcreet than Imperceptible Inſinuation, renders all other uſances and Opinions diſtaſtful, and not ſeldom Atheiſtical, belonging to any Climate or Inculcation but that under which they had the fortune to be born; like Parrots, that only applaud themſelves, and in the mean time proclaim all others Fools or Knaves, upon no more authentick Warrant, than that they have done it, and were taught ſo to do from their Infancy. A Habit reſembling Beauty, which though but Skin deep, doth for the moſt part prevail againſt Reaſon her ſelf: Taught by the generality (as Children do the Bells) to comply with the Fancy, and not the Imagination to ſubmit to the real Senſe. Wherefore ſuch Variety of Judgments can be no prodigy where Truth and Falſehood are weighed at ſo unſteady a Beam. And if any thing could prove able to make good the Advantage aſſerted to be found in the Wiſdom of precedent Ages above the preſent, I ſhould rather ſeek it in the Reſtraint and Confinement the Tyranny of Cuſtom keeps us under, than any defect in ability or poverty of Nature; not obſerved to be more prodigal in one Age than another. Though confeſſed ſometimes to make Wiſdom and Judgment ſo Itinerant, as to paſs from place to place; and may not unpoſſibly quit our

The Tyranny of Cuſtom conſtraint to the proceſs of knowledge.

Horiſon, when it ſhall be again Night with us, and the ſame diſmal Cloud of Ignorance impend *England*, as is now known to hover over thoſe former elegant People of *Greece*. But if the profit of ſome, and fear of others be ſtill able to manacle the Hands, and ſhackle the Feet of ſuch as are in purſuit after Reaſon, by confining them within that narrow compaſs of our Anceſtors diſcoveries, how is it likely this Generation ſhould equal the former, whoſe Cogitations were freely allowed to expatiate in the wide Fields of Philoſophy, and to implead all things at the bar of Reaſon, thought guilty of Falſhood without giving Scandal, or receiving Blame? Whereas the Authors of theſe Times want not only their Rewards and Impunity, but lie under a ſeverer Cenſure for vindicating ſome probable Truths, than they were expos'd to for all their Miſtakes: witneſs *Galilæus*, &c. To conclude, it is no more ſuitable to Prudence, for a Man to hazard his Credit for the advancement of others Knowledge, than 'tis likely to improve them, or ſatisfy himſelf by a bare repetition of what hath been ſaid many hundred Years ſince, though perhaps never believed till theſe latter and more credulous Ages had rendred it vendible under the protection of Silence or Reſtraint.

The Secrets of State not to be proſtrated to the Vulgar.

19. Moon-ey'd Horſes, whoſe light is ſaid to increaſe, or wain ſuitable to the flux or reflux of that mad Planet, blanch and ſtart more by Day than Night, not out of any real Deformity reſiding in the Object, but their Senſe; which renders them of a far more pernicious concernment, when they are able to lead, than kept under a capacity fit only to follow and obey. And this is not meerly verifyed by experience in reference to Schiſmaticks, and the owners of Fanatick Opinions concerning Religion, but all half-witted Perſons elſe from the Prince in the Throne to the Doctor in the Chair. Lukewarmneſs being as Nauſeous to Policy as Religion, and as likely to vomit out and defile the old and decent Government of a Kingdom as a Church.

In

In miſtaking Enthuſiaſms for Prophecies, Memory for Conſcience, and Anger for Zeal; by none better underſtood than the Romans, who to draw this popular Monſter from approaching the *Arcana* of State, (not poſſibly to remain always in ſo ſerene a temper, and under ſuch an exact diſcipline as may admit a through inſpection of the Multitude without danger.) They never ceaſed feaſting their fancies at home with Spectacles of pleaſure (in ſome of which they placed Religion, catching with one bait, both the prophane and ſuperſtitious) and macerating abroad their Martial humours at the Conqueſt and Expence of the Barbarians (as they in a no leſs high than falſe Arrogancy ſtiled all but themſelves) gaining through the Mediation of Stage-plays and Gladiators the ſame, if not a greater advantage than the Grand Seignior draws from a multitude of Wives and the unanimous inclination of his Prieſts: whereas the *Romans* never owned any Profeſſion of ſo inſinuating a temper as to cover Hypocriſie, nor any Enthuſiaſms (yet did all with an unanimous conſent acknowledg God) as were ever found to produce Rebellion, a ſin recorded by Truth it ſelf to be worſe than witch-craft, and therefore not unpoſſibly the cauſe why the Devil was ſo earneſt of old with the Jews, and is now ſo buſie with the Chriſtians to make them commit it.

Stage-Plays a good diverſion of the People.

It is ordinary with Cuſtom, Education, and Ignorance, the Three Grand Impoſtors of the World, to face the Peoples Conſcience with ſome ſpecious pretence, to hoot and caſt ſtones at every Profeſſion, but what practice hath rendred familiar to themſelves; whileſt the more intrinſick knack of the work intends ſolely Honour, Profit, and Eaſe of the Magiſtracy; The Center, towards which all things approved of, do by a Natural or Impulſive force, tend. It being unpoſſible the Pope, together with the Friers, *&c.* ſhould keep up the price of their ſophiſticated wares, daily uttered, were not the paſſage to Heaven ſtraitned,

The toleration of contrary opinions dangerous.

ned, and all other ways obſtructed but through their Inſtitutes; of which the credit would be much impared, ſhould the Proteſtants tenets and theirs be thought indifferent. Nor is it more poſſible for a Civil Magiſtrate to carry the Scepter ſteady, where the winds of contrary Doctrines are obſerved to blow. From whence it is become not only the endeavour of *Rome*, but Reaſon of State to maintain thoſe cuſtoms that appear uſeful, as relating to Salvation, and under a no leſs imperious an injunction than the Command of God: yet not able to extend a puniſhment for a breach of them, beyond Death, the only prerogative of our Maker. Nor can Magiſtracy in prudence be blamed for promoting all means tending to unity, or Subjects commended that ſeek to diſturb them, who ought rather to conceal all Opinions contrary to that generally confeſſed, or remove their perſons to other places where they find them with more ſafety indulged, than by divulging them to kindle a contrary zeal in the people which in a ſmall time converts into Hypocriſie, the demoliſher of all things Humane and Divine; being able to promote, under the ſpecious pretence of the ſervice of God, the fouleſt ends, Covetouſneſs, Malice, or Ambition were ever found to point at. Wherefore all diſtinctions are, or may be hereafter thought dangerous in a State, to the ſeveral Orders of Friers, who though obſerved to agree amongſt themſelves, are in ſharp conteſts with other Covents and Fraternites: ſo as Chriſtendom may be wakened into an Admiration how his Holineſs ſhould pretend to an Infallibility, and not be able to decide whether our Lady lay under the univerſal pollution, or was conceived and born immaculate. The maintaining and controverting of which hath already waſted Candle and Paper, and may come one day to Blood, as the Regulars and Jeſuits have hardly refrained from. Nor need we go to *Rome* for examples in this kind, ſince the truth of this is confirmed in the Jars ariſing between Townſ-

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men and Scholars, one College and another; though under the Inſtitutes of one and the ſame *Ariſtotle* and Government; which maturely conſidered, may ſerve to put the beſt conſtruction on all we find of uſe in Church or State.

21. There is an extent in Wit, Learning, Civility, Honour, and all other Felicities, no leſs than in Conqueſt; which neither *Greece*, *Rome*, *Goth*, *Vandal*, nor any other Nation, Perſon, or Commonalty delighting in Virtue, or Rapine, were ever in any Age yet found able to exceed: The Reaſon that many did draw a Calculation for the late *Guſtavus* King of *Sweden*'s Fortune from the Lines of his ſucceſs, and the miraculous dexterity he uſed before he met with any conſiderable Oppoſition; Though not quite diveſted of ſecond Cauſes. The leaſt of which did not lie in the Imperial Imprudence, where a demonſtration of a will to Inſlave *Germany* was diſcovered before proviſion was made of a Power likely to effect it. The reaſon ſuch as adhered to *Caſar*, were no leſs remiſs, than thoſe that oppoſed him, vigorous in their Proſecutions. But in relation to that is at this time more current in my Fantaſy, All extreams whether in Virtue or Vice may be reckoned as a Portent of the ruin of a People, and amongſt theſe an exceſs in Learning and Hypocriſy, the reſults of a too high indulged Zeal are the moſt Vocal, and do not ſeldom like *Caſtor* and *Pollux* appear mingled with the ſails upon the change of weather. Though the flames of Superſtition are in this more deſtructive than they are meerly natural and Independent, on any remoter cauſes than thoſe of Obedience, or more ſublimate than humane veſſels are able to contain without breaking into Enthuſiaſms, Becauſe found the moſt ordinary Perſecutors of Shipwrack. Nor is any thing likelier to comply with the Cauſes of Ruin in this Nation than the vaſtneſs of *London*; which like the Liver of an *Italian* Gooſe, or a Rotten Sheep, weighs more than the whole

Exceſs in any thing a portent of ruin.

whole Nation, and may not only come in probability, to ſtarve that, but ſuffocate it ſelf.

Affectation a ſign of ſhallowneſs.

22. A vacuity may with ſafety be concluded in that Head, whoſe Body and Diſcourſe is filled with too much Affectation. Such, through an overmuch care about their Out-ſide and Words, proclaim a remiſsneſs in what relates to the Mind; It remaining equally rare, to find a ſtarched and Complemental Man wiſe, as a Woman Valiant: The moſt ſerious Endeavours of them both being to captivate the ignorant Beholders. And though this may paſs but for a blemiſh in Youth, it becomes an Ugly deformity in Age: aſſerting their Opinion who have formerly thought Apes to be of the extraction of *Cham*, or ſome other By-blow of humane Generation, by their too near approaching towards the Nature of Women: wherefore to be avoided as one of the higheſt exceſſes in folly. No mode or behaviour appearing ſuitable to all Companies, but what is Manly, Conſtant, and Reſolute: Overmuch Cringing and Complement appearing in all Judgments, unforeſtall'd by a like Cuſtom, no leſs impertinent than tedious, as intruding too far on time and better imployments. Nor are the French, with whom theſe Mimical geſtures are moſt in faſhion, the better eſteemed amongſt graver Nations; who are rather found by reaſon of this Levity, to put a baſer alloy upon the greater excellencies, which thoſe converſant in their Books cannot but allow them: Amongſt which you may find reckoned in the number of extravagancies, all Ceremonies not eſſentially depending on Civility.

A ſole Academick Education renders men pedantick.

23. It is a Saying, no leſs general than true, That a meer Scholar becomes through a ſingular and Pedantick practice, not far removed from an Abſolute, *&c.* None being better able to man out and array with a Motley and Pie-bald carriage (the habit of a Fool) than he that hath crouded together an unſorted rabble of all ſtuffs and colours. A rude maſs of Reading

till

till it be throughly fixed and concocted in the Sunshine of Imployment, becoming like Atoms so volatile and unsettled, as for want of an equal mixture of the more solid and necessary Elements of Prudence, they justle and whirl up and down, without incorporating any thing but Air; occasioning through a too great dose of Mercury, rather Palsies than any steadiness in the Understanding, by rendring it more bold than rational: Like Children, who confident of their perfect skill in the Game, before Experience hath taught them how to shuffle and deal the Cards, or lay them down in order, advance little but the scorn of Standers by, to see a Courtier kept out, and a mean Trump foisted in, where the best is required: Manifest through all they either speak or write, to their private Epistles, in which for want of an exact measuring persons and degrees, they accost all to the Butler and Landress in one and the same Stile: or if possibly changed, it is in more tedious and impertinent expressions to their betters: in relation to whom Courtship requires the most reserved Brevity can be found on the outside of Ambiguous Obscurity. Nor can this be laid to the charge of true Learning, the Nurse of Understanding, But the long time spent before they be weaned from the breasts of the Universities, and put into Commerce; the only means of attaining strength and ability to Judge what is fit to be retained, and what to be neglected, suitable to the Course, Fortune or Necessity hath allotted for a future subsistence: unpossibly to be gained under such a narrow Eruditon as *Cambridge* or *Oxford* affords: which like Stonage, the Pyramids, and other Rarities, may be well worth a visit, but not to be made Habitations or places of abode. It not residing in the power of any Tutorage to inculcate a wisdom beyond the extent of its own knowledge, and the ability it hath to back its Rudiments, by visible experience, one example prevailing more upon the Memory than ten Rules; and one

one that is for the preſent to be ſeen, than twenty found in Old Authors, not poſſible to quadrate with all times and occaſions. Nor is there made generally ſuch choice of Tutors as are able to diſtinguiſh what is fit to be taught to every reſpective Pupil, in relation to his propenſity, and the future Employment he is likely to have in the State, but do infuſe one and the ſame rudiments into all in general; as if the world had uſe of no more tools but one. Which minds me of a laudable and more improving way for knowledge, practiſed in my time by ſome of the *Peerage*, that obtained leave for their Sons to ſtand by the Chair of State, and hear all the Debates in the Houſe of Lords. And if the ſame were continued and ſuffered amongſt the Commons, it might be a greater improvement than can be found in obſerving the unmannerly and inſignificant diſtempers in the Schools, &c. To which I ſhall only add that Mr. *Hampden*, Mr. *Pim*, &c. were reſident in all Parliaments, their age gave them opportunity to aſſiſt in; whoſe higheſt excellencies, ſo far as my poor Judgment can extend, lay rather in timing their deſigns and concealing their paſſions, than in any more prodigious advantage they had of other men. Nor are there any qualities more eſſential than theſe to a Politician, nor leſs Indulged amongſt Scholars; who, out of a ſtrong preſumption of what they have not, fall into a manifeſt demonſtration of that they really want.

An univerſal inſpection into ſciences moſt becoming a Gentleman.

24. It is recorded of *Solomon*, that God had given him a large Heart, through which he became univerſally knowing from the moſt deſpicable Herb, to the higheſt Cedar, and deepeſt Secret in Nature (then) under knowledge. Which might ſerve to anſwer their Curioſity, who think they have done ſomething towards the confutation of this aſſertion of his wiſdom, when they find his ſayings parallell'd in other Authors: Since it is a ſufficient manifeſtation of God's extraordinary Grace upon him, that we are aſſured from his own

own writings, no leſs than from the teſtimony of the Sacred Scriptures, that part of the whole maſs of Human Learning lay included in his Perſon; and ſo, if equalled in one indowment, he was not exceeded by any ſingle Individual in the general Knowledge of all. And as this appears by the Donor, to be none of the ſmalleſt gifts, no leſs than in the eſtimation of *Solomon* that did ask it, ſo may we ſtrongly preſume that an univerſal inſpection, is the moſt becoming quality a Gentleman (unfixed in a ſetled calling) can beſtow his endeavours upon. And my memory neither doth, nor (I believe poſſibly ever) can direct me towards an example more ſplendid in this kind, than the Lord *Bacon* Earl of St. *Albans*, who in all companies did appear a good Proficient, if not a Maſter in thoſe Arts entertained for the Subject of every ones diſcourſe. So as I dare maintain, without the leaſt affectation of Flattery or Hyperbole, That his moſt caſual talk deſerveth to be written, As I have been told his firſt or fouleſt Copies required no great Labour to render them competent for the niceſt judgments. A high perfection, attainable only by uſe, and treating with every man in his reſpective profeſſion, and what he was moſt vers'd in. So as I have heard him entertain a Country Lord in the proper terms relating to Hawks and Dogs, And at another time out-Cant a *London* Chirurgion. Thus he did not only learn himſelf, but gratify ſuch as taught him; who looked upon their Callings as honoured through his Notice; nor did an eaſie falling into Arguments (not unjuſtly taken for a blemiſh in the moſt) appear leſs than an Ornament in him: The ears of the hearers receiving more Gratification, than troubled; and (ſo) no leſs ſorry when he came to conclude, than diſpleaſed with any did interrupt him. Now this general Knowledge he had in all things, husbanded by his wit, and dignifi'd by ſo Majeſtical a carriage he was known to own, ſtruck ſuch an awful reverence in thoſe he queſtion'd, that

that they durſt not conceal the moſt intrinſick part of their myſteries from him, for fear of appearing Ignorant, or Saucy. All which rendred him no leſs Neceſſary, than admirable at the Council-Table, where in reference to Impoſitions, Monopolies, &c. the meaneſt manufactures were an uſual Argument: And, as I have heard, did in this baffle the Earl of *Middlesex*, that was born and bred a Citizen, &c. Yet without any great (if at all) interrupting his other Studies, as it is not hard to be imagined of a quick Apprehenſion, in which he was Admirable.

Great Libraries more for pomp than uſe.

25. It is a wonder to ſee the publick and private Libraries extant almoſt every where; yet upon an Impartial ſearch into their worth, moſt of the Books they contain will appear like Salt that hath loſt its ſavour, fitter for the Dunghil, than the Stalls they fill; where they abide an unneceſſary Lumber in the Houſes of Scholars. The Ore they afford not coming to any more profitable account, after the time required to ſeparate the droſs is reckoned for, beſides a broken ſtile, which they do inſenſibly obtrude upon the neateſt Wits and acuteſt Judgments, Through the meaneſt of their expreſſions and invalidity of their proofs, commonly no other than a vain repetition of ſuch Authors Sentences and Names as did own the Thing or Opinion they endeavour at that inſtant to make good. As if it were Reaſon Imperative enough to lead us on, becauſe ſuch as they can be found to have gone before: Though God hath made all times alike, and more capable of Improvement than Decay: The contrary of which would redound as little to his honour, as ours. If the Languages now in ordinary uſe, which are but the paint of Books, be not ſo Elegant, as other Tongues more Ancient (a queſtion, that in reference to ſome of our Neighbour Nations may admit of a diſputation) whoſe fault is it, but theirs, that inſtead of Imbelliſhing do corrupt and adulterate them quite, by a dialect as unſuitable to the

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underſtandings as the mouths of the Inhabitants; contrary to the uſe of the wiſer *Italian* and *French*, that explode all words they find rough upon the Pallat: Abominating no leſs thoſe that ſavour too much of the School, than ſuch as retain the Barbariſm of the Country; and are by this means able to pick out the Kernel in all Learning, without the aſſiſtance of any other Tongues but their Mothers. The Canting terms of Arts being natural to them, as they might be in Engliſh, but that the *Academies* dare not permit it, out of fear to become Beggars themſelves. The cure of Ignorance being far more ready and eaſy than our *Empericks* make it, and ſooner obtained through the open air and daily exerciſe of Experience, than the confinement to a Study under a ſet form of Erudition, *&c.* For my own particular, as Hiſtory hath been the chiefeſt of my Imployment, ſo I ſhall extend no cenſure beyond what I have found, which is ſo little of certainty, as I reſt quite unſatisfied, eſpecially where many do relate to one and the ſame time. A Cloud of Witneſſes by reaſon of their manifeſt claſhings and contradictions, rather darkning, than clearing the ways of truth: ſo as we cannot credit Books in matter of Fact, farther than they relate Names, which is an uſeleſs ſound to thoſe that never did converſe with the perſons: Yet are in this ſo far to ſeek, as to leave us divers Founders for one and the ſame City, and as many Cities for the Birth of one and the ſame Man. The original of people, if not of all things elſe being rendred as queſtionable, as their wars and conqueſts, which like ſtories in Hangings, ſhew fair and legible towards that Nation the Hiſtorians deſign to adorn: But, if examined on the other ſide, there's nothing appears but Ends and contrary Figures or Expreſſions: The Records of one Country receiving a ſtrong Contradiction from thoſe of the next, and if Authors be never ſo little numerous, from ſome of her own. Wherefore the bright Rays of Honour,

Great uncertainty in hiſtory.

that do now adorn the heads of *Greece* and *Rome*, have rather reſulted from their Pens than their Swords, and a Felicity they had in being only able to Magnify themſelves to poſterity: And that humane relations intend more the ſatisfaction of particular Intereſts, than that of Truth; may be gueſſed by any that have but marked the Occurrences of our days, where the ſame Preſs, if not the ſame Pen, was often found to contradict it ſelf. Nor have we reaſon to imagine the Ancients more candid in their recitements of Natural and Contingent Events, ſince we find them ſo Romantick and Hyperbolical in thoſe they took for miraculous, which might not unpoſſibly be no more than natural, though they were unable to aſſign them in their true Cauſe; all Nations being at their beginning under as thick a vail of ignorance, as the innocent *Indians* are found to lie now. Who did regiſter in their belief, the Armed *Spaniards* for Angels, and the Prognoſtication of an Eclipſe for a high Prophecy; So as no rational man will queſtion, but if theſe People had expell'd by force their glorious Invaders, before true Information had of their condition, Tradition would have delivered them to poſterity in the ſame Characters and ſhapes their firſt abuſed Imaginations had caſt them in. Wherefore ſuch miraculous Concluſions relating in Hiſtory to reſpective Places, Perſons and Times, are ſubject to queſtion, unleſs warranted by a more authentick Atteſtation than what is Humane: It being a certain ſign of a Jugler, not to be able or willing to do one and the ſame thing often, and in diverſe places, and before ſundry Witneſſes. Nor is the vaſt difference almoſt every where obſervable in Chronology, a ſmall obſtruction to an Hiſtorical Faith: It being much eaſier to know the certain time when a Battle was fought, than every accident happenable in the Field, or circumſtance attending a Miracle; through which the firſt may appear the leſs Honourable, and the latter the more Natural. The

effects

effects of a Confederate Company and prepared to deceive, lying obnoxious to no other diſcovery, than what the Whip or their own more ingenious Confeſſion hath power to extort. Nor are Authors, otherwiſe creditable, barren of unlikely Productions, which leave the verity of the reſt in queſtion; witneſs *Livy*, *Herodotus*, *Joſephus*, &c. amongſt the Heathen, without reckoning *Euſebius*, *Socrates*, and other Writers relating to the Church: The which whoſoever reads, may find cauſe enough to think they took up moſt of the wonders recorded by them upon the credit of ſuch reporters, as might, not unpoſſibly, have abuſed them as much, as they are found the miſleaders of Poſterity. Wherefore Hiſtorians ought not to be over luxurious in their Narrations of Improbable things, but rather to imitate the Candor of the *Jew* formerly mentioned, who leaves his Reader to a free choice of that he thinks fit to reject or receive, in his Hiſtory of the people of God.

For, though the atteſtation of ſo many Pens may Authorize a belief, that there was once ſuch a Man as *Alexander*: Yet double their number would hardly perſwade a Prudent Reader, that he Conquered the whole World, or that he perfumed all places with his ſweat, together with the old Wives tales written of *Bucephalus*, in which he appears little leſs rational, than themſelves. And this we carefully hoard up, with a huge Maſs of waſte paper, which contains no richer Legacy than that of our Forefathers Ignorance and Credulity. Yet a Generation is ſtill in being, that do not only plead the cauſes of ſuch Improbabilities, but Anathematize for Infidels all that cannot admit them a room in poſſibility: Not conſidering, that as ſtrong a deluſion might darken the apprehenſions of thoſe that convey'd them to us, as doth yet appear in ſuch, that (notwithſtanding our clearer light) keep them ſtill in credit with the World. Now if it be not a Prodigy to find Belief abuſed in Groſs,

as it was when two Armies were routed, the one by an Hoſt of Thiſtles, the other through the Duſt of a Drove of Cattle coming to Victual the Camp, why may we not Imagine a far greater paucity of witneſſes lyable to a like faſcination? a few being more obnoxious to deception, than Many; Fear having, in all Ages, retained a power to ſtamp upon the Fantaſy what Figures ſhe pleaſes. This may adviſe you not to follow Hiſtory beyond the Pillars of Poſſibility: No more than to count Controverſy binding, but where ſhe leaves no room for Reply.

Iron of greater uſe than gold, and manufacture than learning.

26. Iron is of more uſe to man, than Gold, though ordinary for Pride to rate it, and Jewels at a higher price: The greateſt Riches of Princes conſiſting in that which (like Honour) is no other ways beneficial to commerce, but as it is priſed by Opinion: So labour and manufactures have been, in all happy Common-wealths, looked upon as far more neceſſary, than Learning. Under the notion of which all things deſerved no better Title, than thoſe of Splendid Impertinencies, that do not bring a real advantage to commerce. Heretofore neglected in *England*, as it is yet in other places; where through an exceſs of Eccleſiaſticks the Church becomes more Populous than the temporality: whoſe Wealth and Splendor cannot long be wanting to raiſe ſo great a Cloud of Jealouſy, and Covetouſneſs in the Lay power, as they may not unpoſſibly be immerged in Envy and Confuſion, the Cords or Ligaments of Religion having been, in theſe latter Ages, much ſlacked no leſs than enervated through Diſputations, and the immenſe charge the Laity are, through their Incroachments, daily expoſed to. Suitable to a Story of wiſe *Gondamor*, who urged by King *James* to relate the intrinſick cauſe of the D. of *Lerma*'s Declenſion, from the moſt potent Favourite his Catholick Majeſty ever raiſed, to a condition ſo deplorable, as little, if any thing was left, beſides a Cardinals Cap, able to ſhrowd his head from the, *&c.*

Made

Made him this Metaphorical parable, That two Rats having tempted their Fortune in purſuit of Livelihood, and Honour, fell upon a Houſe of no leſs receipt, than plenty of all Proviſions; where for many years they lived in the greateſt Senſuality their wills or wiſhes could prompt them to deſire: Till overcome by an ambitious thirſt of advancing together with themſelves, all could pretend to their Alliance or Friendſhip, ſo much ſpoil was committed, as did Alarum the whole Family, and they becoming thus Numerous, had Traps and Poiſon laid for them in every place. The like diſaſter may not impoſſibly impend ſuch Academies as teach meer ſpeculative and uſeleſs conjectures, not capable of fixation under any Theories, which with Hawking and Hunting, may better become the Gentry, than the Sons of *Menu*; whoſe heads, like drink, it doth Intoxicate with flatulent and inſignificant vapors, for want of money and means to eſtate them in experience: without which, Learning, is of no more advantage to the Profeſſor, than a Pearl to a Dunghil-Cock, or a Ring in a Swines ſnout: Wiſdom being a Lady of too high a ſtrain for any baſe Converſe, or idle Company; it being far more natural for good parts to plot miſchief than ſtand ſtill. From whence I conclude, that all receiving benefit from any Foundation, ſhould be tied to follow ſome calling or other, and not to live upon a bare hope an Univerſity may in time advance them to.

27. Such a poetical Perſecution as *Ovid* raiſed againſt *Cadmus*, the Founder of Letters (feigned by him to have put the Gods and Men into a Diſaray) may admit of a Moral equal with an Hiſtorical no leſs than experimented Truth: Since a too univerſally dilated Learning hath been found upon trial, in all Ages, no faſt friend either to Policy or Religion; being no leſs ready to diſcover Blemiſhes in the one, than Incongruities in the other. Sophiſters like the *Cantons* of

Learning makes men famous.

the *Swiſs*, becoming willing upon the leaſt apprehenſion of advantage, to plant the ſame Engins and weapons againſt the wrong ſide as the right, And not ſeldom with as good ſucceſs. Moſt of the Hereticks, Anathematized of old, having been obſerved to lay the foundation of their Schiſms in diſcontent for the loſs of ſome Church Preferment denied them for their own, or to gain a greater offered by ſome other. Thus we ſee that Riches and Honour have ever been and will ſtill continue, the corner-ſtones of the Devils Chapel: wherefore moſt men, no leſs than places render themſelves obnoxious to the brand of Hypocriſie, where theſe are found too earneſtly proſecuted: not poſſible to be avoided, but by affording the Clergy ſo much honour and riches, as may guard them from contempt to the opinion of covetouſneſs, (which are meer reſults of neceſſity) and too mean a rate for ſo high a Calling, and ufeful both to this life and a better, no leſs than all ſort of Governors, is ſet at; though not able to ſubſiſt without them, or be victorious. The Trumpets not proving ſo prevalent before *Aie* in the hands of the Souldiers, as the poor deſpicable Rams-horns blown by the Prieſts.

28. Do not through a too rigid and obſtinate Obſervation, convert Virtue into Vice, or render it more unſociable, than in Reaſon, Nature, and Civility it ought to be: As ſuch blunt and ill-tutor'd People often are *found to do*, who, to wave *Flattery*, fall into *Incivility*, and to avoid Pride into Baſeneſs. Religion no leſs than Honour admitting a general and politick Complyance with all Humours ſo far as Manners extend. It having been the guiſe both of Prophets and Patriarchs, rather to ſweeten with a complacential carriage than exaſperate through a reproof ſuch as they knew out of the Pale of the Church: Truth not being at all times in caſe to be ſhewn without the ornaments of Courtſhip, nor People in a condition to entertain it. Tough and downright humours gaining more

more favour from Plebeians than Perſons of quality; the Market-place, than the Court, towards which it is no leſs Lawful than expedient to turn your eyes in all things meerly indifferent, as the higheſt promoter of Honour.

29. When you find your ſelf ſtrike upon the Rock of danger, or Moored in an Inconveniency, caſt Obſtinacy over board, and call Wiſdom to the Helm, which, with the help of Moderation and Compliance, do always keep an Errour from growing worſe, if not expunge it quite. Nor doth the want of theſe applications ſeldom cauſe Fools to make ſhipwrack of all; whilſt Prudence by tacking about and recovering Wind and Tide, doth at worſt but leſſen their Fraight. To conclude, wilfulneſs like *Jonas*, raiſeth ſtorms and contrary billows, againſt all Perſons and Fortunes whereever it commands. *Moderation and compliance deliver out of greateſt danger.*

30. Though taken in the World for an Honour to be conſtant to your firſt Poſt; yet in caſe of Weakneſs, Conviction or Defect, it may be no imprudence, any more than a mark of Levity to deſert it. All Aſſurances, to that of a voluntary, and ſo the moſt Sacred Oath, being bounded within the compaſs of things Poſſible; of which Wiſdom doth ordinarily make Probability the Judge; yet in my opinion not Infallible but in the company of Conſcience; who ſhould be an imperfect witneſs, could ſhe not as juſtly acquit as condemn: And with whoſe conſent it is no more crime to change, than to follow your Guide, or become leſs fooliſh and intemperate upon the ſight of a miſchief, than before experience had marked it for ſuch. Self-preſervation being the firſt and ſtrongeſt Principle in Nature; and ſo not to be neglected but upon the ſcore of God's Honour or Vindication of an unqueſtionable Truth.

31. It is not always ſafe, to be found a ſtep, by which another hath mounted himſelf into the unſteady Chariot of Honour: leſt his foot ſlipping, your fall ſhould *To be the ſtirrup of anothers preferment, dangerous.*

ſhould become a neceſſary conſequence of his, or prove ſo foul in the opinion of ſuch enemies as new beginners do ordinarily contract, as will render you irreconcilable to the other ſide, which may not improbably prove no leſs auſpicious to you and your Fortunes. Ingratitude remaining not only uſeful, but neceſſary to thoſe in power: Upon the Contemplation of Policy no leſs than Thrift untried Gameſters being ever in moſt credit with ſuch as have a new Game to play. Nor is it uſual with men after their aſſumption into dignity to hate thoſe did place them there.

Annual Magiſtracies too ſhort for great Reformations.

32. More Prudence is required in the Adminiſtration of a temporary or annual power, than one of longer continuance; becauſe an over remiſneſs is as likely to queſtion his repute amongſt Strangers, as too rigid a proſecution to abate his eſtimation in relation to his Friends. For though ſuch a time may be long enough to produce errors, it is far too ſhort to perfect a Reformation. Wherefore no bad advice, to follow all Patterns, that appear indifferent, though none of the beſt, and ſuch paths as are beaten by experience, rather than ſeek new: as I have known many to the loſs of themſelves and their fame, when they came to mingle again amongſt the Society, and were reduced to an equal parity with the reſt. For he that is really able to mend a Government, will undoubtedly be more adviſed than to perplex ſo ſhort a Magiſtracy with what there can be no room found to bring about, but by expoſing the Juriſdiction, no leſs than your own Credit to a dearer experiment, and greater hazard than a Reformation (never quadrating with all Intereſts) is at the beſt able to give caution for. From whence it may be concluded greater prudence to follow than lead: Yet under ſuch a Management as no hand may appear to act above board but your own. Not to wade farther in this ſhallow Honour, which whoſoever carries under an elated Neck, cannot but appear to own a narrow heart, no leſs than a mean Birth and

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ſordid Education: And ſo a year may be too long (for ſuch a Beaſt to abide in Honour) whereas a Man of deſert cannot but think the time too ſhort for to produce any conſiderable change either in Matter or Form: Though I could inſtance many that have loſt more Reputation and Friends during an Annual Preferment, than they were ever after able to re-gain.

Whoſe diſcourſe or Countenance betrays their mind, unfit for Embaſſadors.

33. All Complexions and Natures are not competent for to be imploy'd as Embaſſadors: Some lying at too open a Guard in their Diſcourſe; a fault incident to free People and Perſons not bred under reſtraint. Others, of a faculty retentive enough in relation to Taciturnity, are not able to keep the intentions of their Hearts from flying into their Looks (which by the way a publick Miniſter is to regard more than words) Maſters of their Tongues being not ſeldom betray'd to a full diſcovery by their Blood; which the ſhame of Lying or ſome one paſſion or other pumps up, for want it may be of an Impudence, none, but thoſe wickedly bred from their Cradle, are capable of. The reaſon ſwarthy Perſons and People bordering upon the Sun are more apt for Negotiation, than the Ruddy *Engliſh*; famed for fine Force, rather than Circumvention, the buſineſs of an Embaſſador. Nor ſhall poſterity befriend Truth, if they think it any great Hyperbole in thoſe that maintain what *Gondamor* the *Spaniſh* Agent Writ unto his Prince, which was, That King *James* his moſt intrinſick deſires were Legible in his Countenance. Wherefore his manner was, firſt to diſturb his Paſſions, and after to appeaſe them by ſome facetious Drollery, before he imbarked himſelf in what he intended to make the Imployment of the preſent Audience: Being, in my Opinion, a more perfect pattern for all Miniſters of State, (which in little ought to practiſe what *Machiavel* adviſeth in groſs) than *Cæſar Borgia* preſcribed for the Mirror of Princes; who out of Deſign, or not provided of better, did uſually in his private Viſits, and

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Audiences with King *James* ſpeak falſe Latin; For which he had ſuch dexterous evaſions, as his Majeſty could by no means make ſo good uſe of what was more congruous. It remaining always in his power to alter the Times and Caſes of his Words, an advantage no Interpreter could poſſibly afford. Nor can indeavour be miſpent in making a farther inſpection into the Life of this incomparable Agent, which I confeſs my ſelf unable to do: Though, in my own vindication, I can ſay he was Tall, as I have obſerved a number to be in theſe days very wiſe, and on the contrary, not many Fools, of an extraordinary Stature: By which is given a real confutation to that common error, no ways authorized from any Reaſon or Experience, That the Faculties of the mind cannot be ſo active in vaſt Bodies, as little; provided they be not ſuffocated by Fat, but like his, ſtraight and meager. Though I have found Subtility, which is a more baſe and ſly kind of Wiſdom, very frequent in ſmall and crooked bodies, which the proper People do, in a greater Gallantry of Nature, ſcorn. *Gondamor* did in all companies as well as the Kings, incline more to mirth, than melancholy; chooſing rather to conceal, than demoſtrate the Wiſdom and Arts by which he brought about his Maſters Deſigns; no leſs to the ſhame of the *Engliſh*, &c. than honour of his own dexterity: Who was much wronged at his return into *Spain*, if he made uſe of all the advantages his Nations Prudence and our remiſneſs afforded him. But to what my knowledge was more perfect in, he had ſo quick a wit as he was able to vindicate himſelf in his greateſt Imperfections; not wanting ſpirit to tell King *James*, when he upbraided him with his Latin, That he himſelf ſpake like a Prince, free and unconfined; his Majeſty like a Grammarian, as if afraid of the Ferula. Yet the excellency of his parts, could not ſhroud him from the *Spaniſh* Ingratitude, which for many Ages hath been obſerved to impend the greateſt deſert; for after

after the Prince of *Wales* ſafe return, whoſe reſtraint he did in the opinion of the *Conde Olivares* too ſtrongly oppoſe, he fell into diſgrace, and was, with his Son, moſt Cruelly caſt by; Being, if a Papiſt, no rigid one, as may appear by many of his Stories: amongſt which this is one; He told upon ſome queſtion he was asked concerning Interceſſion. The Picture of our Lady being obſerved to weep, (an ordinary deceit uſed by the *Friers* to wring money from the Ignorant) the Neighbourhood where it happened, became much troubled, as eſteeming it a bad Omen for the future: Nor were the Church-men backward to foment this fear, Though ſtrongly oppoſed by an exceeding old man in the Village, that did maintain it was unlikely to be ſo; Who upon this was convented, and did as ſtifly before the Fathers of the Inquiſition juſtifie what he formerly had ſaid: And being by them demanded how he came to be ſo well acquainted with the Mother of God, he reply'd, he knew every inch of her, as having been then the Prentice of the Joyner that ſet her up; And by his appointment had bored a hole in her back-ſide with his biggeſt Auger, a hand deep: From whence he concluded, that if ever ſhe could have wept, it would have been then.

To end with Embaſſadors, where I began, it is an Imployment more ſuitable to the Prudence than Candor of a free Spirit; conformable to an excuſe of an Honourable Perſon I did once know, who choſen to this Office, rather in relation to the greatneſs of his Eſtate, than Love of the King; anſwered, *he could not undertake it without ruining his Majeſty's affairs, for want of Impudence, and his own, through the greatneſs of the expence.*

34. Such as are exact Obſervers of the proceedings of Nature, find her not ſo bountiful in her diſtributions, as to accumulate all her rich endowments on one and the ſame Individual: So as many can write well, who

Nature endows no individual with all perfections.

who by reaſon of too great a confluence of words and Matter, or for want of Confidence, (through which their Tongues, no leſs than their other Organs, become ſhackled and paralytick) are rendred unintelligible, and ſo impertinent Speakers, whereas others owning no mean perfection in both theſe, appear upon trial no body at Tranſaction, The higheſt effect of Prudence: Though the two firſt for the moſt part run away with the Applauſe; becauſe the latter is a milder temper, and not ſo able to rant out her own commendations, yet deſerves beſt to be indulged by Princes, as being indeed the greateſt rarity in theſe Northern Climates, not yet famed for much excellency in Negotiation: For want of which and ſecrecy (the Zeal of Policy) great affairs have miſcarried in my time, Though under the conduct of Perſons in other capacities not unuſeful, eſpecially thoſe of writing and ſpeaking, qualities yet more apt to raiſe broils, than able to compoſe them; which is indeed an imployment for more ſteady heads, and ſuch as from their Child-hood, have learned to barter and conteſt.

Miniſters of State ought ſometimes to render their ſenſe ambiguous.

35. Though to write and ſpeak intelligible to the weakeſt capacity, be very commendable, yet a Miniſter of State ought to be able, by making ſuch Parentheſes in his Art, and leaving out Points, Comma's, *&c.* to render the Senſe Ambiguous, were the fartheſt extent of benefit or loſs in a Negotiation cannot yet be perfectly diſcovered, upon which a denial excuſe, or farther debate may be made uſe of; not ſo eaſily done in a Tongue univerſally underſtood as Latin ſeems to be. The ordinary imploying of which in all or the moſt things treated about, amongſt Neighbours, may help to diſcover a reaſon, why *England*, and all other Nations eſteemed *North*, are ſo frequently over-reached by *Spain*, *Italy* *France*, &c. That own Inhabitants far wiſer than to be aſhamed of, or to diſavow their Native Idiom through a pride they take in

in being perfect Masters of one more foreign. Yet upon their drawing towards a Conclusion, they may yield so far to Equity, as to choose Latin for the most indifferent, and subject to the least mistakes. Nor can I, being fallen on the Art of writing, think it any great Impertinency to note, that the ilness of your Ink, or the frequent taking up hairs with a Pen, may put a man out of the road of his former sense, and Line of Invention; wherefore That ought to be fluent, and This good.

36. It is no bad Counsel for a Traveller to appear in his best equipage upon every remove to a new place; especially if he hath no better recommendation than his own to procure his welcome, commonly suitable to the Opinion People do at first sight apprehend of his worth, the best assurance they conceive of honest payment, which persons meanly habited give small caution for; and therefore rarely admitted to a convenient Lodging, or good and cheap Pension or Diet; A new comer having nothing to render him acceptable, or to advance him in the world's estimation, but a gentle Garb and decent Habit: yet under this advice, that it be not Clinkant or Rich, since Gold Lace, Rings or Jewels have not seldom rendred Travellers the prey of Braves and Murderers. Besides, an over high Ostentation puts an Excise on all things you want, or are forced to buy. Nor is this Counsel the less to be esteemed, because borrowed from a *Scot* whose usual custom is to shroud themselves under the title of *English:* And if owners of any Merchandize, they take up the best Houses they can get, by which they gain credit, though their Landlord doth not seldom lose his Rent. Wherefore no Honour, Profit, or Safety to be known an owner of their acquaintance, lest you fall into a repute no ways suitable to a Gentleman, who by just dealing may gain in a short time from all, so great a confidence, as may render himself secure, and what he wants, supplied at the best hand.

Good Cloaths commend a Traveller.

37. Kings

Princes need wise Counsels.

37. Kings have their station, no less than Motions in slippery places, and had need of good eyes: wherefore if their own be weak, it behoves them to be Circumspect by whom they are led. Courtiers, for the most part, intending their particular interests, rather than things of more publick concernment. From whence it may be concluded, that in case of defect, which all Princes are, upon some temptation or other, either at home or abroad liable to; Birth next to sufficiency is to be regarded; The sense of honour supplying in divers persons the place of Conscience: Religion, in our days, being so blended in Hypocrisie, that 'tis come to signifie in Statesmen greater danger than advantage, by raising more distrust, than Confidence. King *James*, out of a too strong presumption of his own reach, did not weigh the weakness of those he admitted to the Council-Table: which might have been the better excused, had his Juncto consisted of such as were Noble and Wise: But since these Indowments were not frequently wanting, but a Pension from some one or more foreign Princes taken to subborn Fidelity, who can wonder the Common-wealth fell into Distempers, after the Governors had totally neglected the wholsom Regiment, Queen *Elizabeth* had so long used with good success: and did never cease tampering till by new conclusions they had put it wholly out of frame. King *James* participating so far of the Misfortune of all passionate Men (especially such as abound in fear) as he carryed always a Traytor in his face; of which every wise by-stander was able to make use. And from this patency, his policy was not only enervated, but rendred more destructive than an open and candid Discovery might possibly have proved. From whence his Majesty may be thought, not throughly acquainted with the Constitution of *England*, when he bestowed the strongest of his Labours, in the supressing and vilifying the Nobility, not only found the Glory, but the real Safety of the

the Nation; till their Virtue was allayed through a too great Dilation, by which the Houſe of Lords became numerous, and as it were of one Nature with the Commons: A Fault ſo far incapable of amendment, as the King was forced for want of a Party ſtrong enough for his particular Service, every Seſſion to encreaſe their number; who being exhaled out of the greater Maſs of Gentry, through the heat of Affection, or caſt into this Figure by the help of Mammon, they brought up with them into the Houſe of Commons the ſame deſires they had of a reforming all things amiſs in Church and State: Which in a greater paucity, the Lords could not have ſo much felt; being above all Oppreſſion, but what dropped upon them from the Anger of the *Prince*, about whom they had, in their abſence, ſome Friend or other to mediate in their behalf. I confeſs our Kings have been often worſted by their Peerage, but very rarely, *&c.* Nor were the conveniences of any other Government put in the Scales, much leſs Monarchy exploded; The antient Nobility being in their greateſt Fury and higheſt Pride, wiſe enough to remember the Plume of State could not be ruffled without putting in diſaray all their ſmaller Feathers. Nor were the Kings of this Nation, before Free-holders grew ſo numerous, and Honour came to be valued by the Candle, not Deſert, to ſeek with whom to compound, in the greateſt Dangers their own Tyranny, or others Ambition had caſt them upon; becauſe the chief Leaders in all *Rebellions* were Perſons of Quality; and bore ſo much Zeal to the preſervation of their Country, being of the ſame piece with the Crown, as not to demand more than the Prince could well ſpare, and without which themſelves, their Tenants and Friends (amounting amongſt them all to little leſs than the whole Commonalty) could not be happy; it being the nature of this Climate to love Parliaments, and abhor all Arbitrary Government. Wherefore the damage the long Seſſions brought, or might farther have accumulated upon this wretched

wretched Nation, had it not been ſtopped by the Hand of Providence: Which (conſidering the unwillingneſs of the remainder to give over, or call others to them better able, if not more willing to unload the People) ought not (in my Judgment) to be applauded. It being as unnatural for a Parliament to be perpetual, as for a Perſon to be continually fed with Vomits and Purgations. But to wind up theſe Politick Enthuſiaſms (at leaſt for the preſent) out of my Head. The Engliſh uſed their Kings, in caſe of Rebellion, as the Catholick Princes were wont to do the Pope, from whom, after they had taken away, for former Miſdemeanours all that he had, they did, out of Conſcience, fear of their Neighbours, of their own conveniency, quietly admit him, or ſome other, into the ſame See, *&c.* wiſely apprehending that no quiet can remain, either in Church, or Common-wealth, without a Governour, or Community of Strength ſufficient to head and maintain the Laws. Wherefore the Fifth-Monarchy-Men, together with the pretenders to a preſent Terreſtrial Kingdom of Chriſt (if not able to produce more authentick Warrant than hitherto they have done) deſerve little protection from the Magiſtrate, becauſe they deny Obedience, where it is without queſtion due.

Uxorious Princes of dangerous Conſequence to a State.

38. It may be numbred amongſt things noted of dangerous Conſequence, for a State be governed by an Uxorious Prince, though reputed no Fool in other Relations, It raiſing ſo great Jealouſies both at home and abroad, as none will treat with him about Buſineſs of any ſecret Concernment, but upon an unavoidable Neceſſity; being in all Negotiations bound to communicate as punctually with the Queen as the King, upon a no leſs penalty (in caſe ſhe ſhould take her ſelf ſlighted) than the ruin of the Affair. The like Caution may be given in reference to ſuch Privado's or Minions as are really, or thought able to diſpoſe of their Maſters Conceſſions: Which, beſides the diſhonour it brings to the perſon of the Prince, cauſeth a far

far greater after Indigency, out of diſtruſt (in all Treaties with Foreigners, no leſs than his own Council at home) than there can be found room for, where but one is to be addreſſed to, ſince Prudence forbids to venture wholſome Council (ever diſtaſtful to ſome) in a Boſome not tight enough to contain it. Wherefore in ſuch Effeminate Courts Wiſdom is not to tamper at all, or to fit Advice to the Diſtaff, rather than Scepter, as the more dangerous Weapon, and from whence many Blows have proceeded in my time, capable of no milder a Cure than loſs of all hope for the future, if not of Eſtate and Life it ſelf. Nor is it poſſible for ſuch Kings to be better attended than by Fools and Paraſites, being compelled upon all events to take the worſt of Counſels themſelves, and as upon their own Score, out of ſhame to ſay from whence they had it. Nor can a Prince, in prudence, if in Juſtice, accuſe his Conſort for any incontinency in Speech, after ſuch an Example given, as to tell her what is not fit for any other beſides himſelf to know. Where Polygamy is in uſe, this Errour, of moſt dangerous Conſequence to all in a ſuperlative Power, is not ſo frequent. It being inconvenient, if not pernicious for ſuch to Love or Hate any, beyond ſo exact a proportion in either of theſe Paſſions, as may diſenable him to alter upon every aſſurance of a contrary Deſert. A ſmall Blemiſh in the conduct of a private Family, becomes a no leſs pernicious than ugly Deformity in that of a State. Where the Wives of Kings ſhould wholly intend the content of their Husbands, and ſecurity of the Nation, in producing a fair and unqueſtionable Succeſſion; and not by fidling (as they are too commonly found in *Europe*) with Government, to put all out of Tune. From whence it may be thought no bad Counſel, for thoſe of the firſt magnitude in a State, to be no longer in private Converſation with Women, than during the leſs ſerious Imployment of Love: Their Advice like *Eves* being not ſeldom ſuborned from the Maligners of their Husbands Felicity, and the reſt of the time ſpent

in *querimonious* Accuſations of his beſt Servants, or as unreaſonable Demands in favour of their own. So as if the Head of *Sampſon* had contained but the tithe of that Strength ſaid to have reſided in his Hair, a Woman had never underſtood where it lay: Who through an impertinent and tedious Importunity (which is not ſeldom mixed with deceit) do often beguile ſuch into a Diſcovery, as have been thought Proof againſt Honor, Mony, or the Rack it ſelf. And becauſe I apprehend this Caution to be of greater Concernment than it hath been Imagined, take this Example which lies yet amongſt a number more crowded in my Memory, as thought the fitteſt, becauſe brought about through a combination of Paſſions, of which, Fear got the predominance by the mediation of Luſt.

Queen *Elizabeth* being preſented with an Overture out of *Spain*, ſo ſecretly managed by the Counſel there, as the firſt news of its approach came with it ſelf; the Meſſengers (out of fear of a ſurpriſal) diſpenſing with the Ceremonies commonly uſed in behalf of Embaſſadors, (becauſe it appeared ſomething prodigious, conſidering the Pride of his Nation) did much inflame the Lord Treaſurer's deſire to know the fartheſt extent of the Negotiation, as conducing to a preſent advantage, that ſuch an Anſwer might be made as ſhould in ſome proportion quadrate with the demand of the Catholick King, at that time ſtanding upon Terms little different from thoſe of an Enemy; and being informed from the ordinary eſpials he kept about his Perſon, that the attempt was difficult; if any thing nearer than Impoſſible, the *Don* out of diſtruſt, *ſtill carrying his Inſtructions in his Boſom: Burghley* cauſed ſuch a Jeſuit to be apprehended, as by reaſon of former Miſcarriage could not expect Mercy, and imparts his Deſires to him under as large Promiſes, if he brought them about, as Threats to be revenged on him or his Aſſociates, if he found himſelf abuſed. All which, though with ſome reluctancy he undertook and performed, through the mediation of a fair Lady that firſt took away his Commiſ-

ſion,

ſion, and then laid it again under his Pillow whilſt he ſlept: So wiſe are Women, or ſuch Fools be Men during the time they abide under their Incantation.

39. Few Marriages have ſucceeded better, than thoſe Contracted between the *Auſtrian* Family and *England*. Nor is this a bare reſult of Luck, but Reaſon: The remoteneſs of *Spain*, but above all, their Love to their own Sun-ſhine, Cuſtoms, and Religion, having fixed their affections ſo firm to their own doors, as they have no deſire for Change: a quality the levity of other Nations that renders them the more univerſal Citizens of the World, doth not admit of: whereas a *Spaniard* is a rare ingredient in any Climate but his own. Out of which may be drawn this preſumption, that their Ladies cannot but be thought to leave an Iſſue ſubject to the leſs Queſtion. Nor is the natural Frugality of this graver People (ſeldom found amongſt the French) a ſmall advantage to the Engliſh Court: And might not unpoſſibly cure it of that expenſive Itch ſhe hath long born to change her Faſhions; an Humour no leſs mad than deſtructive. And through the proſecution of which all Marks of Knowledge are removed, and the Serving-man with the Maſter, the Miſtreſs with the Maid reduced to an equal parity in relation to diſtinction, where they have no more certainty to gueſs by, than is deducible from the Habit. Whereas in Queen *Elizabeth*'s days, and long ſince, all degrees of perſons were diſcernable by their Cloaths. Nor hath any abuſe paſſed over, under ſo little notice, made deeper Impreſſions into the wealth of both Court, City and Country than this; or hath rendred them more the Objects of Envy and Contempt: who are in this become ſo ridiculous, as to own faſhions, by which they are ſo manacled, as they cannot ſtir, carrying their Arms in as great a reſtraint, as the Women of *China* were reported to bear their feet; through which they are neceſſitated to remain idle, as not able to uſe their hands, or any other honeſt diverſion, but what can be deduced from diſcourſe; which the *Spaniſh*

The alliance of the Auſtrian Family moſt ſucceſsful to England.

Indiſtinction of habits a cauſe of much poverty.

gravity waves. Their Ladies being unlike the *French*, whoſe luck having been of late to be left Guardians to Minor Kings, do aſſume to themſelves a ſufficiency to manage a State: through which their Husbands come to be perplexed in their affairs.

Hope lulls Induſtry aſleep & is often the decoy to ruin.

40. Though Hope intrudes her ſelf as a Medium in all diſtreſſes, yet it cannot be found in experience to obſtruct (if too far rely'd upon) the application of more prevalent remedies, by dazling the underſtanding; and like a white Witch, keeping Reſolution ſo long in ſuſpence, and imploy'd in ceremonial applications, as the ſingle fit of a Fever doth not rarely in a ſmall time prove owner of the danger of an Incurable Hectick. And thus through a plauſible and natural Complyance, Hope becomes the falſe Prophet of Fortune, who by her more happy predictions is able to ruin often the Affairs, and not ſeldom the Perſons of Princes; the evil conſequence of which having been found to produce ſadder effects than thoſe of Deſpair (the youngeſt Daughter of her Siſter, Fear) who though laſt heard, hath ſometimes been obſerved to give none of the worſt counſels. Nor is Play looked upon by me for a weak fomenter of this childiſh Deception: And therefore marked here, as elſewhere, for dangerous and deſtructive to Princes and thoſe at the Helm, making them expect the like Auſpicious changes in worldly occurrences, as they do ordinarily obſerve in the flux and reflux of Luck at Cards and Dice: Not apprehending, through a contrary Cuſtom, that though the terms be equivalent in relation to uncertainty, (all Games being a kind of war and conteſt for ſuperiority) Yet the Cunning uſed by Politicians, like that of Cheaters, will overcome the ſtrongeſt endeavours of Fortune, if unaſſiſted by the ſame advantages. Wherefore ſince the ſucceſs of a Battle depends not only upon the Imperceptible conduct of Providence, but the Myſterious Inductions of a Prudence confined to no other goodneſs but what relates to victory, a Prince ought to quit himſelf of all dependance upon

upon this blind Goddeſs, Chance, with as much dexterity, as his own preſervation and the emergency of his affairs will admit. The ſecurity of Fortune, like that of Unthrifts, ſeldom proving gainful at the concluſion. Manifeſt in *Charles* Duke of *Burgundy*, and many other eaſie to be produced, who out of a ridiculous Gaiety, did forfeit his preſent felicity, together with his life, in an Imprudent expedition againſt the *Helvetians*; who, with half the charge he was at to ruin himſelf, might have hired them to deſtroy one another. And all this was attempted upon no ſtronger a Mediation or Aſſurance than that of Hope, and the incouragement of thoſe ſuborned to betray his Youth into the hands of Fortune. From whence may be deduced this wholſome Aphoriſm of State, *That what is ſafe can hardly prove diſhonourable:* The Report or Opinion of Foreigners being as far below a Prince as Prudence is above valour: Not unlikely to be the reaſon ſo few Nations have proſpered under a Military Counſel, who by often provoking ſucceſs, do at laſt drive it quite away. Wherefore if a Prince in a Civil Commotion (eſpecially where he is left to the liberty of Choice) apprehends a power near equivalent with his own, it can be no imprudence to knock off, by yielding to the firſt demands of his Subjects, ever more reaſonable than thoſe can be expected ſhall come attended with a greater probability of ſucceſs on their ſide: The Rabble being ſeldom capable to learn at a cheaper price than woful experience, That the fall of a Prince doth rarely produce any milder a conſequence, than the undoing of his people, by putting all things into a combuſtion, and teaching the Monſter to know its own ſtrength, which cannot ſafely be oppoſed but with weapons made of the ſame Iron; the application of foreign Force appearing to prudence little better, if not worſe than the diſeaſe, as having been the Original of moſt of the Conqueſts we read of. All which may tempt a King to a charitable, rather than a bloody Complyance, more ſubject to impair than better

the condition of a Natural Prince, who upon any ſucceſs cannot be Cruel, without irritating his own party, no more than Merciful, ſince the firſt will increaſe their fears, as the latter doth delude their hopes; which in ſuch caſes cannot be ſatisfied but with Confiſcations, not poſſibly to be ſo equally divided, as not to occaſion more envy than love. Becauſe in caſe of Victory, he is no more able to puniſh all appeared againſt him, than to ſatisfie their expectations that ſtood for him, who in another Commotion may upon that ſcore be as ready to become his enemies: The Impudence of Souldiers increaſing more by one inteſtine war than three foreign; and do breed in a politick the like diſtempers too great a quantity of Blood is found to cauſe in a natural Body. Wherefore ſince the marks of precept make not ſo deep Impreſſions, as thoſe of Example, all former ill ſucceſs being imputed to ſome miſcarriage in the attempt; as the good is cryed up beyond deſert, it may not be bad Prudence in Kings to obliterate out of Books all marks of Sedition (As I heard that famous Antiquary Sir *Robert Cotton* ſay, thirty had been in *England* ſince the Conqueſt) leſt Poſterity ſhould reduce them into precedents for the like diſorders. To conclude, if a Prince finds his friends (which in a Rebellion are hard to be diſcerned from enemies) not able at the firſt Eſſay of force to bring in the Conſpirators; The Lion's skin is to be deveſted, and all hope layed by, but what may be deduced out of compliance; for fear ſome about his Chair ſhould diſcover the weakneſs of his game, or by playing booty ruin him quite: One loſs being in ſuch caſes more than an ordinary preſage of a greater to follow. For tho' the Rabble are not capable of prudence enough to temper themſelves, they own ſo much ſtrength, as, through the guidance of others, they are able to diſtemper a ſtate. The Materials being eaſier to be diſcovered than the Contrivers of any Rebellion.

41. Plantations and Communities, like Fiſh-pools and Lakes are quieteſt, if not moſt happy at firſt founding

founding or ſtoring. For after ſome revolution of time hath rendred them Numerous, Neceſſity, no leſs the Parent of Spurious than Legitimate Arts, doth in a natural favour to ſelf-preſervation, teach them to cheat and oppreſs one the other. Wherefore the golden Age, ſo much celebrated in Poetry, is as remote from Fiction as Miracle. The Earth affording more felicity to a few than many, which thoſe People bordering upon the Sun, from whence Mankind is at firſt ſaid to proceed, might, by reaſon of a ſlower increaſe longer enjoy; till by falling into conjunction with our colder Climates, and (ſo) apter for Generation, ſhe came to over-ſtock her ſelf: Loſing the univerſal felicity in a croud of Inhabitants. From whence ſprung not only the uſe, but an unavoidable neceſſity of introducing Government, which falling under diſtinct Headſhips or Royallets, needed no greater provocation to Rapine and War, than the ſtrongeſt found in in their natural temper: The ſame Malignancy abounding then, as doth now, though palliated by the great plenty of all things the World afforded at the beginning; none being ſo much in love with Choler, or any other paſſion, as to fall into it without unprovoked. This proves Want, the Original of Law, as St. *Paul* makes that an occaſion of ſin. And from hence might ſpring a greater ſincerity in the ſervice of God, the ſole refuge of thoſe that have none other to fly to. It being common with all men to extend their hope beyond the proportion of what they fear; and therefore eaſily flattered into a belief of any felicity though never ſo improbable or remote. And becauſe this is natural and imprinted in the character of all Humanity, I look upon it as none of the weakeſt aſſurances of our future bliſs.

Plantations moſt happy at their firſt planting, becauſe leſs numerous.

42. The World was never in ſo ſerene a temper, as under *Auguſtus Cæſar*; during whoſe Reign the King of Heaven and Earth appeared, and the Temples of War ſtood ſealed up, ſo as the Gods and Goddeſſes aſſigned by the Heathen for Military Imploy-

Moſt Wars occaſioned by the jealouſies of ſmall Royallets.

ments had leave to play; being emancipated from all perturbations ariſing through the variety of petitions the contrary intereſt of Mortals cauſed them to make. Nor can this Halcyon Tranquility be in reaſon imputed to any remoter Earthly cauſe, than the entire Unity of thoſe times, terminating in the ſingle perſon of a moderate Prince. From whence may be naturally deduced this Theoreme, That Chriſtendom would not only ſtrengthen her poſture againſt the Grand Seignior, but be more ſecure in her ſelf, under one Monarch, than thus Cantonized as ſhe is. Though I ſhall not diſpute what Nation is moſt opportunely ſituated for ſuch a Deſign, to avoid Controverſy, being as ready (and I believe under protection of a ſtrong Reaſon) to preſent *England*, as others may be to offer *France*, or any Member belonging to the Houſe of *Auſtria*. Wherefore to paſs over the diſcourſe of an Univerſal Monarch, as ſavouring too much of the Utopian Dialect, and rendred unpoſſible through the huge and invincible proportions, ſo much Time, Ignorance of the Church, and Wiſdom of Princes hath laid together, I ſhall modeſtly examine, Whether inferiour Commonalties and ſmall Royallets be not as great a Bar to an Univerſal Tranquility, as the extravagant power of the Peerage was to *France*, before moderated by the Wiſdom of *Lewis* the Eleventh. Theſe leſs Potentates being compelled, through weakneſs and want, to caſt the Balls of contention amongſt the mightier Monarchs, which if reduced to an abſolute Obedience, as they are already to little leſs, through a neceſſary dependance from their own preſervation, on *France* or *Spain*: Their malevolence rendered, through Fears and Jealouſie, general, and not ſeldom contradicted out of falſe ſuggeſtions, might be rebated; And the more powerful left at better leiſure to attend the motions of the Ottoman Family, and to ſtop the Leaks of Hereſie and Schiſm, which if ſuffered to run on, will ſuffocate the power, if not totally eclipſe the external Glory of the Chriſti-

an

an Religion. Nor can a better cauſe be found, why the Popes power over Kings (no queſtion at firſt uſurped) ſhould ſtill remain floating betwixt the bladders of Ignorance and Superſtition, but that he is able to foment a party amongſt theſe, which he can increaſe out of the Natives of any Nation that doth oppoſe him. Thus, as it were through an Antiperiſtaſis raiſed between a burning zeal in the People, and fear of the Prince, he comes to domineer over all alike, but thoſe have crept from under his Cenſures; who are nevertheleſs liable to his Laſh, at ſome time or other, in reſpect of the number of *Seminaries* he hath already (yet unpaid by himſelf) to vindicate his quarrels in every place. Nor are the deſires of the Pope, any more than the reſt of ſuch petty Princes, as have nothing but ſhifts to ſubſiſt by, cordial for the total abolition of the *Turk*, out of a dread of themſelves, which alſo extends to the diſturbing of an Univerſal peace: They looking upon the diminution of their Grandeur, as the only Sacrifice able to purchaſe it. And this gives them, like whelps, the boldneſs to bite the greater Monarchies by their legs and extreamer parts, when they find them at odds amongſt themſelves, or (which is worſe) grapled with the Grand Seignior. And he that is ignorant in this, cannot be thought knowing in the Imperial Hiſtory, no more than in other Paſſages, where not only his Holineſs, but the moſt Chriſtian, to obtain advantage of the (in that) more Catholick King, are reported to have made a ſolemn League with this enemy of Chriſt. Nor have the *German* Princes remained long tonguety'd in this behalf, no more than their *Cæſar*; who may be the better excuſed, as having done it ſometimes to prevent a more immediate danger from them at home. It being common with theſe petty Governments to hatch ſuch plots, and give birth to thoſe Deſigns with which the reſt of the World is commonly diſturbed: Manifeſt in the Duke of *Birone*, formerly ſo far inſtrumental to the reduction of the Crown of *France*, who

became

became after to have his fidelity corrupted through the poyſon he received from *Savoy*; that continual thorn in the ſides of her Neighbours. Nor can *Rochel* acquit her ſelf ſo well, during the time her Walls did ſeparate the Inhabitants from the Obedience of their Prince, as, for the Honour of the Reformation, I deſire it could from like practices, no more than other Corporations, *&c.* have done; the blemiſhes of which it goes againſt the grain of my Profeſſion to diſcover: Though I wonder from the inſpiration of what *Spirit* we come to proſecute the followers of an unrevealed Anti-Chriſt, for ought I ever yet could learn from any Expoſitor, with ſo great an Animoſity, and paſs without notice one doth face us already: Being without queſtion better able and more ready to do greater Diſhonour and Miſchief to the Chriſtian Religion, than the Biſhop of *Rome* can be tempted to, in regard of his own particular Intereſt. Through which is juſtified that common Imprudence general in the World, where men proſecute a ſmall damage from a neighbour with a fiercer revenge, than a greater ſuſtained by an enemy; like Conies, that may be obſerved to tear and fight with thoſe of their own kind, but will make no reſiſtance againſt the Pol-Cat, the common Enemy of all. And thus do our high-noſed Hypocritical *Zealots* that pretend to ſmell rank Idolatry in all Profeſſions but their own: yet in the mean time are found not only to neglect the open and profeſſed Antagoniſts of Chriſt, but with *Pharaoh*'s lean Kine, are obſerved to devour the Revenues, and take the Houſes of God into poſſeſſion, under the pretence of a Reformation; firſt begun in *Germany*, which, as ſome have thought, was left by providence to the *Auſtrian* Family, not out of God's wrath, but a tender care of the Chriſtian Affairs.

43. Had the Catholick King ſought extenſion of Empire at the prejudice of *Aſia*, and not incroached upon the Territories of his Chriſtian Neighbours, he might in probability have been nearer, if not his whole ends,

yet

yet far more than he is Maſter of, or can in likelihood be ever able to obtain, by the courſe he takes. Nor is this my ſingle Opinion, but an aſſertion of a Spaniard in a ſmall Treatiſe, where he handles five Problemes of which this appears not to favour of the leaſt likelihood: Since in the firſt proſecution of ſuch a Project, his Sails would not only be emptied of much of the envy all the Princes of *Chriſtendom* do ſwell with now in reference to his undertakings, but filled with their wiſhes for a happy ſucceſs. Nor could the Pope in ſhame, if in Conſcience, have refuſed him a *Cruſado*, or any aſſiſtance the Church could afford, at leaſt within his own Kingdoms, if he ſhould have owned an Impudence to deny a larger contribution, or the uttermoſt of his endeavours to ſtave off *France* from faſtening upon his Patrimony in his abſence. Nor can Ambition, as *Machiavel* wiſely obſerves, promiſe it ſelf a more probable ſucceſs than is likely to follow an Invaſion of *Turky*; whoſe Strength, as the ſame Author atteſts, lies more in Tradition than real Truth, at this Day in Peace with the Perſian, and ſo ſecure of the reſt of *Chriſtendom*, as if they were all aſleep, yet hath not been able to wreſt *Candy*, in all this time, out of the weakly ſupported hands of the *Venetians*. Nor doth any Prince in the World own thoſe advantages for ſuch an attempt as the Spaniard; his other Limb, the Emperour, lying at the Mouth of *Conſtantinople*, ready to attach him upon the ſound of any Mutiny or Rebellion, at this Day very frequent amongſt them: And might with the more probability of advantage, be fomented, becauſe the People are in a condition not capable to be impowered. Nor is there any Nation in the World of more contrary Complexions, in relation to People and Religions. Nor can any Man think it a matter of difficulty, to take in the Grand Seignior's Out-works, that hath heard what report Sir *Robert Manſel* made at his return from *Algiere*, where, upon ſight of a Commiſſionleſs Navy that King

The Spaniards having Aſia in expectation to conquer Europe, impolitick and unſucceſful.

James

James ſent, the Patrons became Suitors to their Slaves for Mercy.

The ſpeculative and practick part of Politicks require different tempers.

44. Though *Machiavel* may deſerve commendations, for the excellent uſe he hath made of the proceedings of his firſt happy, then miſerable acquaintance with *Cæſar Borgia*, Son to Pope *Alexander* the ſixth: Yet I doubt, if himſelf had fill'd the ſame room, and owned the like advantage, whether he had been able to have attained to that height *Cæſar* did, though in wiſdom and ſplendor of Birth not inferiour to him; It requiring one Spirit to Write, and another to preſent to the Life, and ſuitable to every occaſion, all Scenes both Comical and Tragical in relation to Friends or Foes, likely to furniſh out, with a preſent ſecurity or future continuance, a Perſon fit to mount into a Throne made vacant by Fraud; Since none but ſuch as from their Birth have been uſed to perſonate what really they never were, can, in this wiſe Author's Opinion, pretend upon a leſs hazzard than the Ruin of himſelf or his Family, to the Government of State: To which there are acquired ſuch contrary Intricacies, as whilſt one is unraveling, another twines; ſo as without an exact obſervance of thoſe Elements of Policy he preſcribes, there can be no hope for a Tyrant to ſubſiſt. Nor were theſe Aphoriſms common only to *Cæſar Borgia*, or died with him, but continue to this Day, eſpecially in *Italy:* Where no Wickedneſs is ſhunned, any ways conducing to the Extenſion of Empire, and the ends of Ambition. His Holineſs himſelf entertaining all means for Lawful and Right, carrying any probability of advancing his Children or Nephews. In which they have remained ſo long proſperous, as moſt of the ſmall Princes beyond the *Alps*, are themſelves, or their Wives, *Chips of the Croſs*; And meer excreſcencies of the Policy and Power of the Church; which Practice is made ſo common through cuſtom, as all marks of Reproach lie covered, if not in the Nature, in the neceſſity of the Attempt. Nothing leſs than a ſuperlative Strength being able to ſecure the Iſſue of a preſent

ſent Pope, from the Rapine and Spoil of him that may not unpoſſibly ſucceed. It running quite contrary to the wiſe practice of the Conclave, to chuſe twice together out of one and the ſame Houſe, but rather to exclude all the immediate Poſſeſſors Confidents or Kindred, out of a dread they have to affix the Mitre in a particular Family. Yet notwithſtanding the Popes prudent management of Affairs, during their own time they have not ſeldom been ſo foully miſtaken, by counting upon the ſcore of their own Judgments and natural affections, as to anticipate the ruin of them they ſtudied to preſerve, for want of making an Impartial ſurvey of the Prudence of ſuch Children or Nephews, as they ſought to advance, and a through conſideration of the ſtrength of their Complexions, and depth of their Conſciences, whether able to digeſt all ſorts of Blood, cold and hot, likely to obſtruct the ways to what was aimed at. The venerable Hiſtorian *Guicciardine* noting, that though *Alexander* the ſixth was at firſt ſo far perplexed at the Death of his eldeſt Son, as to renounce the World; The ſame Author ſaith, he reſumed it again upon the firſt aſſurance given, that his other Son the Cardinal had been the Murderer; And did, after his reſignation of the red Hat, redouble his Endeavours to raiſe him; as if he had looked upon the throwing of his Brother into *Tiber*, and the laying his Siſter upon the Bed of Inceſt, as a good Portent of his future greatneſs, whoſe Story though ſomething gelt by reaſon of the Scandal it gave, may be worth the reading, no leſs than *Machiavel's* Notes upon *Cæſar Borgia*; out of which, and all Politicks elſe, may be obſerved, That *People indure Oppreſſion with more Patience from an old, than a young Prince*, as thinking it leſs durable, and *from an Uſurper, than one aſcending through a continual Succeſſion*; as eſteeming it more natural, and no leſs than they looked for, or do acknowledge to have deſerved, for not ſeeing when they were well: A conſideration a Politician ſhould expunge by contrary practices, leaving them

them a liberty in all innocent Punctilio's, and every thing elſe remaining to their Lives and Eſtates, ſo long as they remain quiet, let the Perſons be of what Magnitude they will; ſuitable to the wiſe conduct of *Spain*, where the elder Family is ſuffered annually to renew his Claim to the Crown, though with as little ſucceſs as interruption. Nor is it ſafe for a Prince inceſſantly to afflict his People, who may, like Dogs, quietly for a time endure it, though upon a too unreaſonable continuance they do not ſeldom ſo far participate of that Beaſts (well known) condition, as to fly in their Face. Wherefore Governours ſhould for their own ſake, no leſs than the Nations, imitate God, who though abſolute diſpoſer of Promiſe and Performance, doth conform the latter punctually to the firſt: Which whoſoever doth not, may, like a drunken Man, be juſtly thought intoxicated in his Underſtanding; ſince the breach of an Oath muſt needs be a Trap abominated by all, in relation to the more innocent Sheep, becauſe honeſt Men hardly can diſpence with the uſe of it, in the inſnaring of ſuch Wolves as do oppreſs and devour them.

Bloody Princes odious and imprudent.

45. *Machiavel* doth accuſe as Imprudent, all ſuch *Princes* (and moſt eſpecially thoſe whoſe *Virtue*, as he calls it, hath given *a beginning to Empire*) *that knew not when to ſtop that iſſue of Blood, which may at firſt be neceſſary to keep ſuch Titles in, as have no better colour to face their Legality, but what is attained by Prudence, or the Sword* (from the benevolence of which, all Powers now extant were at their original derived) *but did continue their bloody Cruelties and malignant Aſpect.* Keeping by that means the Peoples diſcontents waking, and ſo by conſequence their own no leſs chargeable than terrible Fears and Jealouſies; nothing being more obvious to probability, than the raiſing ſome Spirits (amongſt the number of Enemies, ſuch a continued practice will in all reaſons produce) as can never reſt ſatisfied without Revenge; Often brought about by ſo uncouth and improbable Means, and the mediation of

of ſuch deſpicable Inſtrument, as no purveyance can ſhield the Perſon of a Prince from: Who, whilſt his Prudence, like the Philoſophers Eyes, are fixed upon higher and more remote Dangers, he falls into ſome nearer Trap he never dreamt of. And to manifeſt the Truth of this Aſſertion, the ſame Author doth inſtance *Philip* of *Macedon*, and many other Examples borrowed from Antiquity, which I ſhall wave, and only content my ſelf with that of the Duke of *Buckingham*, that fell by the Hand of *Felton*, whoſe Picture I am the willinger to draw, as thinking it well becoming the Boſom of all Perſons in Power. In which I am not likely to be partial, having to my knowledge never ſeen the Man. Though his Father owed an Imployment under mine in the Office of Remembrance for many Years. He was of a Religious and Quiet Converſation, given to no open Vice nor whimſical Opinions, being a frequent hearer of ſuch Preachers as were never found to give encouragement to ſuch Practices, but rather the contrary: Prayers and Tears being the ſharpeſt Weapons that were then formed in the Pulpit by Parochial Paſtors, whatever Lecturers did; from whoſe Doctrin I have been told he was ever averſe; nor was *honeſt Jack*, a Title always given him, (though rendred after more diffuſive by the Duke's enemies, then ſo ill a conſequence might merit) Agitated by revenge, or any privater Spirit than what he was perſwaded did regard the Common-weal; As I heard *William* Earl of *Pembroke* proteſt, who could not but be the beſt informed, having aſſiſted at his examinations, who did withal aver he never ſaw Piety and Valour better or more temperately mixed in one Perſon; Nor was he found, as the ſame Lord atteſted, in any untruth. I confeſs that through the continual Inculcation of his Majeſty's Chaplains, and others of the long Robe, he did diſavow ſo far the Lawfulneſs of the Fact, which before his Conſcience never blanched at, as he deſired *The Hand that did it might be cut off*: But neither himſelf, nor the endeavour of the Duke's

Duke's Friends could procure him a ſharper Puniſhment, than Law and Cuſtom provides, in caſe of a Murder, for the meaneſt Subject. Nor can this Miſſion to the Tower be looked upon for leſs than the beſt Fortune ſo high a Malefactor could be capable of; Since during his abode there, which was many Weeks, he had a plentiful Diet provided for him at the King's charge. By all which it may appear, the Man was only led through ſtrong Enthuſiaſms, that *Buckingham* was an Enemy to the State: An Opinion Princes ought above all things to avoid, by ſhunning every occaſion likely to repreſent him cruel or implacable in the Eyes of the People, by being continually tumbling and toſſing that lumber out of his way, which ought (if at all) to be removed at one and the ſame time, and then with as little Noiſe and Injuſtice as may be; Repetition of Puniſhments, Confiſcations and Impriſonments being apt to be thought by thoſe not able to ſee to the end of the proſpect (yet moſt conſiderable for number) to reſult rather from the Princes Nature than emergency of the Cauſe, and therefore not improper to alarum the moſt innocent; rendring *The Fable of Hydra* an Hiſtorical Truth, the cutting off one Head producing from Kindred and Friends Hundreds in the Place, of which perhaps the major part were none before; nothing carrying a greater propenſity towards Fertility than Blood. Wherefore ſince a Tyrant, by reaſon of the crooked ways that lead to an uſurped Crown, holds not his ſafety under ſo conſcientious a tie as a natural Prince, till he become ſo through Lenity, Juſtice and Continuance; It behoves him to be more moderate in the Proſecution of others, leſt through their Innocency, either Real or Imputative, his own Prevarications ſhould be kept in remembrance. And, for a vindication of the contrary practice, *Machiavel* preſents as his beſt pattern to the Houſe of *Medici* (that had not only at firſt ſurreptitiouſly gotten, but did after re-gain, through the mediation of like Arts, the Principality of *Tuſcany*) *Cæſar Borgia*, who was

To aſcend a Throne by much blood unſafe.

was found to remove all Enemies and Obſtructions out of his way in groſs, and not dribling by retail: The People being as partial in their Pity, as ready upon the apprehenſion of Injuſtice and Cruelty to exerciſe a more extravagant Tyranny of their own. For though a frequent puniſhing of ſingle Perſons may ſtop the Mouth of this Monſter for a time, it doth more increaſe than diminiſh its deſire to bite, upon the approach of a ſmall advantage, which is far eaſier found than may be imagined. Wherefore no cauſe of Diſcontent can in Prudence be admitted, but what is ſqueezed out by Neceſſity, but rather Lenitives applied: The Multitude being of ſo brutiſh a Nature, as to become more pliant to Obedience through Stroking, than Smart, eſpecially if any thing they fear lies in the way, or where that they Love is removed; it remaining beyond peradventure, that Clemency did never occaſion Repentance, but in caſe of Examples or Competitors, Blood being like Opium, which taken in a juſt proportion cauſeth quiet, but that once exceeded, *Death.* Or if Patience and Connivance ſhould find their Virtue loſt in ſome incorrigible Natures, yet the Errour were eaſily redeemed; whereas Cruelty is of ſo ſtaining a quality, that, like the Scorpion, nothing can expunge it, but what reſults from its own Nature. Now where this Moderation is obſerved, and all Liberties, Honours, and Immunities religiouſly preſerved, I apprehend no more cauſe of Grief than the Engliſh had occaſion for, Joy, when they exchanged King *Richard* the III. for *Henry* the VII. It remaining indubitable, that however the Firſt might be a Murderer, he did not with the Second, oppreſs the People: Wherefore ſuch as call him Tyrant, offer violence to a number of good Laws he made; and ſhew too much partiality, if they eſteem him the better Prince that broke them; Kings that ſucceed by Birth, acknowledging no obligation to any but their Anceſtors: Whereas *Richard* endeavoured to gain the Love of the Nation, and did ſo far prevail, as to have

an Army appear for him againſt the Duke of *Lancaſter*, in thoſe days the Darling of the Commons, and wherein were divers of quality; a ſtrong preſumption of a juſter and milder temper in Government, than the ignorant and partial Hiſtorians of thoſe times are found to record; ſo as though he may be reckoned amongſt the worſt of Men, his Laws will recover him a place with the beſt of Kings, And no bad precedent for thoſe that may at firſt aſcend, contrary to the Cuſtom of a conſiderable part of the people; whoſe Affections do cool or heat proportionably to their fears and oppreſſions, which none ought to continue; A doubtful condition being the moſt terrible to Man.

That Monarchy moſt durable, that's founded on the beſt Policy.

46. Tho' *Alexander* and *Cæſar* among the Ancients, and the King of *Sweden* in our days, may be thought to receive their Impulſes from the Lord of Hoſts; Yet the damps and chill proceedings that fell upon the deſigns, eſpecially of the firſt and laſt after their deceaſe, may give us leave to obſerve, How in all ages ſuch Nations have flouriſhed moſt and longeſt as were able to maintain the choiceſt Prudence at the Helm: For want of which, after *Alexander*'s Death, the *Grecian* Monarchy was weakned, and in a manner loſt, in the Diviſion his Captains made of it; each taking for his ſhare ſo great a proportion, as his own Dexterity, or the Love of the Colony he commanded, gave him the power to graſp; opening through this means an entrance for the *Roman* Conqueſt, which followed next, and, by reaſon of a better Eſtabliſhment, did longer endure. From whence it may be ſuppoſed, That the Fortune of *Greece* lay more in the Hands, than that of the *Romans* in the Heads of their Founders: Wiſdom having proved in all Ages more prevalent, at long running, than Succeſs; which may become ſometimes the Dowry, but never the Inheritance of a Fool, or the owners of no farther diſcerning Spirits than the preſent. The Reaſon great Atchievements do not ſeldom Terminate no better than in the ruine of his Name, Fame, and Family, that did at firſt bring them about;

about; the Advancement of which is only able, if any thing be (an Opinion ever doubted of) to palliate the Blood, Labour and Hazzard, ſuch undertakers run for the preſent, without caſting up what attends them in future. Nor can I readily call to mind an Uſurper that did ever better compoſe his Affairs, than *William* Duke of *Normandy*, who, after the defeat of *Harold*, the laſt great Card likely to endanger his Game, is not reported continually to face the Nation of *England* with an Army (of no leſs terrible aſpect always to the People, than it is of dangerous conſequence ſometimes to the Iſſue of a Prince after the death of his Father; Their continual readineſs in being, affording them the faireſt opportunity to chuſe a Succeſſor) yet did ſecretly maintain a convenient Militia out of the ſpoils allotted to ſuch as had imbarked their Fortunes with his; not paſſing any Land from the Crown, but upon Contract with the owners to aſſiſt him at his Call, with a proportion of Horſe and Men ſuitable to their Eſtate; a Covenant not hard to be performed by ſuch whoſe well-being lay wholly incluſive with his: And of theſe Tenants for Men and Arms there were not a few, as appears in the Regiſter yet remaining of their Names, amongſt whom I am not aſhamed to find thoſe of Father and Mother: Nor did the muſtering of theſe in every County, and upon all occaſions fail to anſwer, though with far leſs expence and univerſal terror, all the ends an Army can ſerve for. Thus by concealing his Rod, and ſparing the peoples purſes, he ſhewed them the Nation might be as Happy under a foreigner, as a Native, one Family as another: not poſſibly to be done but by removing out of the peoples eyes all appearance of Oppreſſion: There lying ſo vaſt a difference between the Regiment of Love and that of Fear, as This may chance to ſtand, but That is never likely to fall: All which is ſaid, not to condemn any contrary Practice, but modeſtly to ſhew, where divers ways lead to one and the ſame end, the leaſt deſtructive to the general quiet ought to be taken, in Policy, if not in Conſcience.

Tyranny not only natural but neceſſary.

47. The Weight of Superiours will be born with the leſs anxiety and perturbation, if we ſeriouſly conſider, That Oppreſſion and Tyranny is not only Natural, but Neceſſary to preſervation. For if the ſtronger Creatures did not ſpoil and devour the Weaker, the whole Maſs of Animals would periſh by Famine; or ſtifle for want of room. Since the Earth and Sea, Natures Magazines for proviſions, are not able to ſuſtain the Stock, a deſpicable Mouſe or Pilchard would in a ſmall time ſwell to, did they not become the Food of others. Wherefore wiſe Providence hath matched every things ſtrength, in their reſpective Gradations, with ſuch proportionable Antagoniſts, that they are all contained within the compaſs of a juſt proportion (like a neſt of Boxes) through a reſtraint from ſuch as own a greater extent in power. And to counterpoiſe the wiſdom in Man, which renders him ſubordinate to none but his particular Species, the ſame Providence doth permit him to be actuated by ſuch impetuous Paſſions and bruitiſh Deſires, as, through the Mediation of Exceſs, Covetouſneſs and Ambition, he becomes the Moderator, no leſs than Deſtroyer of his own kind. The Sword receiving from theſe a daily Commiſſion in one place or other to kill and ſlay. And where this is too little to ballance the Incomes of Luſt, an over repletion calls in Peſtilence and Famine to turn the Scales. All which cannot be Voted Plagues, but in a reſpective ſenſe, as only relating to ſuch as periſh in them; ſince a great, if not the moſt conſiderable part do receive benefit by it, and Nature her delight, which ſeems to reſide in variety. All this conſidered cannot but bear witneſs for *Seneca*'s Truth, *That nothing would accept of Life upon ſuch hard conditions as the Creature doth undergo, if it lay in its power to refuſe:* whoſe being, together with the continuance in it, is impoſed without any primary conſent at all, or future, but for the dread of falling into a worſe: Adorning the glorious Chariot of Nature in this World, till like withered flowers they be laid aſide by the ſame hand firſt gathered them out of

of Nothing, and ſtill preſerves their Root through the act of Generation, by which they are led in a brutiſh Senſuality to betray Poſterity, to the ſame Inconveniences, thoſe capable of reaſon cannot but apprehend uncapable of compenſation from the higheſt taſted content this World affords; that whirls about in a continual circulation, changing the Forms, but not the Nature of things. Wherefore though it appear againſt the decree of Providence to obſtruct the courſe of Generation, it may not be undecent to mind Chriſtians, that the great reluctancy uſually found in them towards Death, doth not only queſtion their integrity in Religion, but underſtanding; elſe they would never adjourn, by ſo much labour and anxiety of ſpirit, what Nature hath allotted from all in general, without the exception of any thing capable of Life: who may enjoy a free proſpect of all her beauties, though poſſibly not of every Malignity, within the revolution of a year, if not during the ſhorter ſpace of 24 hours; our time being compoſed of day and night; the reſt appearing merely but a Repetition of the ſame thing. Now ſince it is the ſin of Knowledge, to under-rate what hath already paſſed by her in the viſible apparitions of Experience; ſo it may not unpoſſibly be as great a miſtake in Ignorance, to overvalue all ſhe never tried: and conſequently becomes the cauſe of the general Terror apprehended in Death, the only deprivation of temporal pain, the fartheſt confines of the Land of Knowledge, beyond which nothing is diſcovered, but what is ingraven upon the Pillars of Faith, read and interpreted according to the Dialect of the Place, and manner of the Erudition, it is our luck to fall under, and out of the verge of which (without a miraculous inſpiration) it is next to impoſſible for a Man to extend his Belief. Wherefore in any Condition to leave the World unwillingly, or with an unſettled hope (ſince 'tis the decree of nature, and condition of our birth, not to continue us here) cannot but appear in the eyes of diſcretion, no leſs manly than Chriſtian.

Yet many are ſo unadviſedly fooliſh, as to multiply Deaths, through the agonies their fears raiſe in them, that one day they muſt die: the ſole means left to free us from Oppreſſion, if not to attain perfect felicity, which no ſervant of Chriſt can doubt of.

Honeſty and Prudence not inconſiſtent.

48. Our Savionr would never have commanded, under a like Emphaſis, Innocency and Subtilty, had he thought them incompatible, or not rather as Neceſſary in things Sacred as Prophane. It remaining unlikely, If not impoſſible (during this total Eclipſe of miracles, but what reflect upon the world under the notion of Faith, which cannot be taken for other than Implicite, in any thing that depends or relates to a more foreign witneſs than our own) to keep Uuity within the bonds of Peace, but through Policy or (if you had rather have it ſo) Prudence: Though *Hooker*, who may be worthily placed on the higheſt ſhelf ever Clergy-man reached to, is not aſhamed to entitle his Works by the firſt. Nor are the loudeſt bawlers againſt Diſcipline found to neglect it in their own affairs: but do rather back and improve the power of it through the force of the ſame arguments they labourred formerly to confute it. Making a like uſe of Scripture and Reaſon of State, as Mariſh-men do of their Sluces, by which they keep out the Sea, formerly owner of the place, and only employ them for the benefit of Land Floods. Wherefore Diſcipline, which is the ſame thing in the Church, as Law in the State, can be no more ſpared than Government it ſelf; by which we are taught our duty to the Magiſtrate, who without this, will be as far to ſeek when to Command as we what to Obey; from whence we ſhall find it an eaſie deſcent into war, the greateſt Hell upon Earth, and of moſt conſequence to be avoided by people any degree ſhort of mad men. Now ſince we are not only led by the example, but precepts of the Apoſtles, to yield obedience to our Governors, This in my apprehenſion avows it preſumption in any, below the owners of a ſupream power, to queſtion the Decency,

cy, Sanctity, or Legality of what the Church hath heretofore, or may at this preſent avouch. For tho' really converted into Idolatry, which is Treaſon againſt God, as the Brazen Serpent was; Or into Hereſie or Sedition, which imports no leſs in relation to his Earthly Repreſentatives, The Church and Prince (as the Moſaical purifications, *&c.* were in the days of Chriſt) yet it cannot warrant the hands of any ſingle perſon, no not of the multitude in groſs, to appear in their abolition, unleſs by way of petition: But to admit them as trials of their farther patience, till God inclines the heart of ſome lawful Power, the only place ſuch a zeal can be ſafely kindled in, without threatning deſtruction to the whole frame. Men being commonly partial in their own care, elſe ſuch as ſtile themſelves the beſt of men; would never have exploded the Calling of Biſhop (and ſuffered ſo many of their perſons to want, though approved of in their own hearts, for men no leſs exemplary in their Lives, than Learning,) under no milder an aſpect than Antichriſtian; yet did not at the ſame time refuſe to themſelves the Imperious Title at the Kingdom of Chriſt, under which notion the unworthieſt amongſt them did, only in a leſs volume, though in the ſame at a larger extent, exerciſe the like power over the people of God (if the Nation afford any, a Blaſphemy to doubt of) as was before held Tyranny by them for the Hierarchy to adminiſter within the circuit of a Dioceſe: not remembring the Engliſh Biſhops have not only been Champions in the cauſe of Reformation, but have Juſtified the convenience of their Diſcipline through the experience of the longeſt peace and greateſt felicity *England* ever enjoy'd, and with the effuſion of the leaſt blood; which theſe had the fortune or will to be aſperſed by. I confeſs what hath been ſaid, is ſomething beyond my intent, though much ſhort of, *&c.* Yet the conſideration of this little, may furniſh out a competent proportion of Charity both at home and abroad to reſtrain us from taking any publick

Scandal: ſince the moſt, if not the worſt of things the rigid and preciſe blanch at in our daies, were at the beginning ſet up to as plauſible an end as they labour now to pull them down: The firſt intention of which, cannot be quite loſt to any, but ſuch as abuſe them to a contrary ſenſe to what they are firſt intended for; any more than a Mortal miſapplication of a wholſome Drug, by an ignorant Emperick, can render it Poyſon in the hands of a Learned Phyſician. The ſame may almoſt be ſaid of all the Controverſies in Chriſtendom, where the Prieſts have reduced our guidance to Heaven into a gainful Art, by rendring the ways thither ſo eaſie, as to be bought, or ſo difficult, as to be little leſs than Impoſſible to be found.

The opinion that good works merit, very natural.

49. I have often endeavoured the contrary, yet could never longer than during ſome humble exſtaſie, ſeparate any good work in my ſelf or another, from the Opinion of Merit; Though no mans Education and Faith did ever more bandy againſt it. From whence I have been often ready to conclude it as natural in Religion as Reaſon: For though a Pepper-corn doth in no ſenſe quadrate with the value of a great Copyhold, yet it doth ſerve to anſwer (as far as we are able) the will of the Donor, and in that ſenſe alone, through the mediation of Chriſt, Heir apparent to our Sovereign Landlord, it becomes acceptable it ſelf, though far below our duty. For though, as a Chriſtian of the Reformed Church, I confeſs the principal ingredients in our Creed uncapable of reaching, but by the hand of Faith; yet where the ſeeds of good works are not mixed, Religion grows flatulent and Hypocritical; It being far eaſier and cheaper to refrain open and negative Sins, than to perform the more chargeable affirmative duties of Charity: which if they were preſſed home, not only in Pulpits, but Practice, and every one Conſcientiouſly examined, whether he profeſſeth Sanctity to gain an Heavenly or an Earthly Inheritance, you would ſee Hyprocriſie ſneak away like the young man in the Goſpel, who was ready to

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ride poſt to Heaven, provided he might carry his riches behind him. Now to prove Hypocriſie and Uncharitableneſs are the crying offences of this Age, conſider how many have, with *Zacheus*, met and compounded by Reſtitution for what they may not have peradventure come by ſo well. And in relation to Governours, to whoſe wiſer Conſiderations I humbly offer theſe few following Obſervations, if they ſhall be pleaſed to caſt their Eyes upon the Nation of the Jews, and enquire in what Condition they ſtood at the coming of our Saviour, and till *Veſpaſian* beſieged *Jeruſalem*, they ſhall find not only their Sins but deſtruction proceeded from Hypocriſie; which doth wholly rob the Prince of that benefit might be made of Religion, by converting it into a meer outſide and deceivable Godlineſs, far more deſtructive to Government than Atheiſm it ſelf; hiding under the Cloak of Piety ſuch wicked Deſigns as open Prophaneneſs was never found to bring about. Nor doth Reaſon or Experience afford better means to deveſt this mask, than by reſtoring Love and Charity to their ancient Splendour, and rendring them only the marks of Confidence and ways to Preferments: The ſenſe of Honour having been found alone more conducing to Fidelity, than the bare forms of an over preciſe Zeal in the company of covetouſneſs, with which at this day more are thought to converſe than ſuits with the honour of their profeſſion or ſafety of the State, to whom I recommend a timely reformation of theſe pretending Reformers, of all but themſelves.

Hypocriſy more deſtructive to Government than Atheiſm.

50. If *Lucian* found cauſe to upbraid the ordinary Scribes in his Days, for owning more Knowledge and Piety to their Gods in their ſupercilious Aſpect, and ſpurious Cenſures of others, than they were really Maſters of themſelves: What may we judge of the no leſs Hypocritical than Theatrical over-actings in ours; Where it is ordinary with Men to bear the impreſs in their Fore-heads and Looks (like Mountebanks Bills) of more Sanctity, than the moſt exact Obſerver

Controverſies weakly handled, prejudice the Truth.

ſerver can note in their Lives or Commerce. Who fill thoſe Rooms, Swearing and Prophaneneſs was wont to take up in Taverns and Plays, with more Blaſphemous and uncharitable Cenſures and Imprecations in the Church, againſt any Judgment looking a-ſquint upon theirs, though in things meerly Philoſophical, and undetermined. Nor are their Books free from the leaven of Hypocriſy and Malice, eſpecially if not able to anſwer the Spirit of Reaſon, he they oppoſe is armed withal, nor the People willing upon their bare Warrant to ſtone the contrary Party, for then, like painted *Jezebel*, the lively image of an Hypocrite, they proclaim him a Blaſphemer againſt God and the King. Forgetting, that though a State may be endamaged through the diſcovery of an Error, God and Nature are not gratified in the perſecution of Truth. Yet theſe Anti-Veritarians are ſuch profeſſed Antagoniſts to all the moſt probable new Ideas in Philoſophy or Reaſon, not hitherto ſcrew'd up to the higheſt pitch; and in the mean time advancers of Enthuſiaſms in Religion, know through the Mercy and Sufferings of Chriſt to be long ſince ſufficiently revealed: That with the Red Dragon in the Wilderneſs, they ſeek to deſtroy both Parent and Child: Of which failing they Vomit out a Flood of Inſignificant Words and Reproaches againſt them, to the diſcouragement and obſtructing all future endeavours. *Wiſdom, like Water in a Well, not exceeding an ordinary height, till pumped or allured* by *Emulation* or *Honour*. Nor is there a more probable way to ſtop the Mouths of theſe railing *Shimei*'s that Curſe and caſt Dirt upon thoſe *Davids* which labour to quell Ignorance, the uncircumciſed Philiſtine of the World, than by appointing all Books of Controverſies to be garbled, and if found not ſtrong enough for their Adverſary, to reſtrain themfrom Silence, cannot prejudice Truth comparably to an over-weak Defence, manifeſt in Religion, and if maturely conſidered as palpable in Philoſophy. Yet theſe bold Attachers of Wits do at firſt gain ſuch credit with ordinary Readers,

ders, upon a preſumption they durſt not aſſault theſe excellent Spirits but in an aſſurance of greater Illumination of their own; that they buy their Books, through which Ignorance becomes incouraged and Knowledge depraved, by a diſcovery of ſmall Faults and perverting the Senſe of more excellent Things. And thus Fools fall into eſteem for noting the Blemiſhes in wiſe Men, and they accounted Simple, for wanting that abſolute Perfection no ways attainable in this World. The Students of Reaſon in our Days lying under the heavy fate the Mathematicians did of old, in being thought Conjurers and Atheiſts; an Indictment I doubt not but the more refined Judgment, if not of this Age, of the next, will acquit the one of, as clear, as it hath the other. Wherefore in caſe of ſuch purblinded Cenſurers, make them rather the Objects of Scorn than Anger or Reproof. Such carping Natures reſembling Dogs, more incouraged and better gratified by the ſharpeſt Anſwer, than none at all, upon which they commonly give over, or meet with a fouler Blow from a Stander-by, and one never thought of, than you may decently give in your own Cauſe.

51. All things quadrating with Intereſt or Affection, though in their own Natures Wicked and Unjuſt, do labour to be furniſhed with ſuch fair Pretences, as may palliate the throws of Conſcience: through which uſe becomes able with the Stomach to convert Poyſon into Nouriſhment, and the moſt enormous Sins and Cruelties into Comlineſs and Zeal.

Intereſt *never unfurniſhed of fair* Pretences, *or ſuborning Conſcience.*

52. No Security can be given or taken either ſingle or reciprocal between the Prince and People but an Oath; held in all Profeſſions, ſacred, and its breach of dreadful conſequence, till the Pope, arrogating the abſolute Power of Chriſt's high Chancellor upon Earth, did diſpenſe (under the Notion of Equity, Juſtice and Neceſſity) with the breach of all Laws, both Civil and Divine, (among which Perjury is Incluſive) and ſo from an undeniable Inference, Religion it ſelf, ſuperſcribed by our bleſſed Saviour within this narrow Circuit of Love

Oaths *become* Traps *of the Innocent, where* Conſcience is unthroned.

Love to God and our Neighbour, on every ſide invaded through this high violation Faith, no leſs deſtructive to the Conſcientious than Impotent, and only advantagious to Princes and Subjects liquoriſh after Profit and Sovereignty: Who, by reaſon of a vaſter Power are able to perpetuate the greater Miſchiefs, and ſo moſt likely to be aimed at by God in his firſt Inſtitution of this moſt ſacred Bond, in which his own Name and Honour is made the Pledge: And therefore his patient paſſing the breach of it by in this World raiſeth no leſs Confidence in the Atheiſt that he ſhall never be puniſhed, than aſſurance in the Godly his Reward is not to be expected upon Earth.

The *Netherlands* after their Revolt, framed an Oath for the whole League, wherein all thoſe formerly taken to the King of *Spain* were without exception or any manner of qualification Abjured: By which I could underſtand no leſs when I read it, but that they called God himſelf to atteſt, that his Name was become of no validity. Which to ſpeak plain Engliſh, was as much as to forſwear all Opinion of Religion or Sanctity in Swearing. I do not think my Judgment of an extent large enough to ſpan the height of ſuch an Impiety as a National or Regal Perjury extends to, no more than the temporal Miſchief it may bring to a Commonwealth, by giving Subjects an occaſion to think the Articles of Faith, virtually incluſive in an Oath, are of no more validity, than Intereſt, through the mediation of Power, is pleaſed to afford them. Yet it may imbolden me to believe, that thoſe learned among the Catholicks do not with us look upon Conſcience as a diſtinct Quality or natural Indowment of Man, but meerly acquired by cuſtom at the mediation of Shame or Loſs, which upon the working or boyling of the Memory, is taught to approve This, or diſlike That, according to the eſteem the Opinion of the Place, and Company they moſt commonly converſe with, are pleaſed to rate it at; *The ſmalleſt morſel of Fleſh taken into the Stomach upon a faſting Day clogging it more,*

than a whole armful of that which is more ſinful doth in a Bed. Nor are they leſs troubled at the Memory of Loſſes and apprehenſion of Dangers, than Offences againſt God; the which do not ſeldom produce far greater Agonies and Deſpairs: The Blood of ten Men in *Italy* being digeſted with leſs reluctancy, than the glance of a Rival's Eye. Wherefore we may imagine, they do really believe no ſuch thing, but look upon Conſcience not only as a room in the memory, that ſtood empty till the Fall, but a meer bubble, in the imagination, which fear and hope by the aſſiſtance of uſe, can blow, like a glaſs in what faſhion or bigneſs they pleaſe, ſhewing there, to the Life repreſented, good or bad, according to the tincture a former ſuborned Paſſion may have dipped them in: And this (wiſely view'd) will be found of no more ſolid ſubſtance, or drawn by no ſteadier hand than cuſtom or education, nor ſet in a more durable frame than that of Fantaſie. And from this undervaluing of Conſcience (the ſecurity of the good and terror of the wicked,) the validity of Oaths is loſt, or converted into traps to catch the innocent, and unadviſed.

Where Conſcience is ſway'd by Intereſt, there is no true judgement of either Faults or Merit.

53. Conſcience is no leſs ſway'd through particular Intereſt, than the reſt of paſſions or accidents incident to Memory. Manifeſt in our *Henry* the eight, perhaps no more guilty than all Princes elſe, who at his Death looked upon the delivering *Empſon* and *Dudly* (Inſtruments of his own and his Fathers Oppreſſion) to the fury of the People, as a Sin of a deeper tincture, than the number of Murdered perſons his remembrance could not but at that time preſent him with. From whence we may conclude our ſelves in nothing more apt to be abuſed, than in the calculation of our own Faults and Merits: And ſo, much unlikely to give a juſt eſtimate of thoſe belong to others.

Difference of Judgment a wrong ground or alienation of affection.

54. How dareſt thou (O Man!) Judge another? carrieth ſuch an awful ſound in my apprehenſion, as I cannot but tremble at the general boldneſs one Profeſſion takes to condemn another; ſo as none lie capable of Salva-

Salvation under an universal consent; This Church Anathematizing what the next receives; which cannot but proceed from the more damnable root of uncharitableness; every where condemned throughout all Religions extant. Though equally culpable in imposing a restraint upon every way to Heaven, but what custom and education hath rendred familiar to themselves; each being really, or in their suborned imaginations supposed able to detect Error and Absurdity in all Divine Worship beside their own. Wherefore this humor being universal, if not natural, it ought to cut off all particular Feuds, and mitigate the rigor of Law, and severity of every respective Prince; who can only justifie (and that perhaps rather to his particular conveniency, than the Deities universal mercy) the raising a persecution upon no higher provocation than Opinion, in no mans power to rectify, but upon a manifest conviction of his Judgment.

Now since it is no prodigy in the Schools, for two Disputants to quarrel about one and the same thing, hid from them only through the nicety of Distinctions, why may not such Protestants as measure the Catholick Profession by the ordinary standard of the Court of *Rome*, take, not only a false, but an uncharitable survey, and too far to the disadvantage of that Church, which hath professed Christianity ever since the Apostles time, and may look no more as Canonical upon all, the Pope for his honour and profit maintains, than we take for legal every Injunction that passed from the King or Council-Table? Many Ceremonies being admitted for order, splendor, and decency, (which under correction, I may say, cannot be spared in less Corporations) that are not essential to salvation, and confessed of no more validity, than what they receive from the Inspiration of power: wherefore meerly local, and of no larger extent than his Holiness's Authority doth naturally, or is suffered through the Indulgence of Princes to reach. Nor doth the redundant Zeal of our English Papists (not to give it a courser Epithete) deserve less pity than admira-

The redundant Zeal of the Papists to be pitied and admired.

admiration; through which they are ſo far blinded, as not to ſee the Popes Supremacy concerns them no more in point of Salvation, than it did the Subjects of *England* heretofore, whether a Lord ſpiritual or temporal ſhould paſs the door firſt. It being unpoſſible but ſuch punctilio's at the beginning ſhould reſult from humane inſtitution or connivance of Kings, from whoſe benevolence or ignorance theſe Appellations and that Power reached to the Biſhop of *Rome*, and not from him whoſe Vicar he pretends to be; our Saviour Chriſt owning no ſuch Juriſdiction or extent of Earthly Power. It is confeſſed, I ſhould look upon that Engliſhman as a betrayer of the honour of our Nation, that denies the Kings claim to *France*, becauſe his Anceſtors once had it in Poſſeſſion. Yet did I own Land and a Being there, it were a high folly, if not Treaſon to maintain it upon the place: The Title having poſſibly as juſtly reverted to them again, as it was at firſt aſſumed by us. Yet ſuch power hath the preſent fear of loſing their intereſt in future felicity, that it doth not only ſtifle the ſenſe of reaſon and concernment, but the apprehenſion of Martyrdom it ſelf, which might altogether inform them, that ſince the Biſhop of *Rome* converſeth not here ſuitable to our Saviour, who was ſo far from diſpoſing of Earthly Kingdoms, as he refuſed to divide a particular Inheritance, Intereſt may not unpoſſibly lead him out of the way in other things: For though an Infallibility ſhould be granted him, in what relates to the Church, 'tis more than the Cardinals themſelves will admit in what is purely civil; It being none of the Articles of our Creed, that Chriſt was an earthly Prince or had any other Sovereignty over Kings, but as God over all. Yet ſince this miſled people receive no advantage of their errours, as ſome hypocritical Schiſmaticks may be imagined to do, it cannot but raiſe pity in you towards them, and charity to your ſelf, in caſe Fortune ſhould caſt you in any region under the Popes Juriſdiction, who owning a temporal power no leſs than a ſpiritual, may not unpoſſibly

possibly punish in more Prudence than you can suffer. Wherefore, leaving behind you all obstinacy and prejudice, consider whether the Sign of the Cross may not with more Piety be admitted, than Baptism wholly neglected, or the Bread in the Sacrament only taken, rather than the Seal of our Covenant quite omitted. Yet I desire you to look upon all is said under the notion of an Advice, not a Command.

The Conclusion, exploding Atheism.

55. I hold in Charity no less than Commerce with all sorts of People, that do acknowledge a divine and universal Providence: But abominate those that have the Impudence, no less than the Indiscretion to deny it, openly in their Words, or tacitely in their Actions; as such cannot but be thought to do, that destroy others under a pretence of Sanctity, meerly to enrich themselves; who deny God no less in his Justice, than the other in his Power. Since without a Creator, Man must be the product of a Contingency, together with all things extant, if not the maker of himself; or, which is as prodigious, an Absurdity, nothing, out of its Strength, must have produced all Things, nor could so many descend into this low and damnable Errour, were they not led by that common Calculation incident to the Creature, through which each in its respective gradation, is rendred out of Ignorance unable, or out of Pride unwilling to find a sublimer excellency than his own. The Cause, not only that the Vertues but the Gods themselves were by the Heathen represented in Humane Shapes, and their Inclinations confined to the same Sins and Passions Mortals are found subject to. It exceeding the largest extent in Nature to comprehend a higher Wisdom than its own, or to assign it a more honourable Aspect, or furnish it with richer Indowments, than her Senses and Experience hath adorned Fancy withal. The Devil being painted as White among the Negroes, as he is Black here. Wherefore Knowledge being at a Nonplus (a thing she doth naturally abhor) many, because they cannot decipher a Reason, why Providence in this

World

World appears ſo oft in the Favour (to our ſeeming) of wicked and unjuſt Deſigns, and ſo far diſcourages the Good, as to leave them in the Hands of their Oppreſſors, they, like inconſiderate Seamen, do cut the Cable of Hope, and forſaking the Anchor of Providence, reſign the conduct of all things to Fortune, who is yet ſo conſtant in her Viciſſitudes (familiar to Gameſters) that in a ſmall time ſhe doth not only take away, but returns to every Man his Mony again. And if the World hath, for ought we know to the contrary, been till this Age ignorant in the circulation of the Blood, though the principal Engine of Life, and ſuch a neceſſary, one, as every Creature moves not without, why ſhould we rob our ſelves of the Comfort, and God of the Honour of Managing whatſoever happens, though yet ignorant of the manner and reaſon of his doing it, which hereafter we ſhall ſee revealed: The Age of Man being too ſhort to diſcover every Spoke in this Wheel, that may within a ſpan or two be twiſting the deſtruction of thoſe that are now at the top. Nor can any Man gueſs how another fares by an outward aſpect taken from his Moveables, but muſt ſleep with him and enter his Boſom, which God doth; and can no doubt by ſlacking of Grief in one, and winding up Fears and Jealouſies in another, make the World even. It being the Spring and intrinſick part of the Watch that the Workman looks after, and not the Caſe, though it may poſſibly be Gold, or ſome richer Materials, which the Rabble do uſually caſt their Eyes upon, as Children do on the Lord Mayors Pageants; admiring the Splendor of thoſe that ride in them, who conſidered in their own nature are but mean Mens Iſſue, and thus adorned at the City coſt: Yet their external Varniſh doth ſo obſtruct the Organs of Senſe, as they do not perceive the poorneſs of the People that bear them up, no more than how long they may be able, or found willing to do it. And if Men cannot, by a ſerious Reflection upon their own Affairs diſtinguiſh the Operations of Providence from thoſe of Contingency; yet

ſince it is the moſt univerſal Opinion, and for ought ever I could hear objected to the contrary, the leaſt obſtructed from Reaſon or Conſent, That every Creature holds its Production, no leſs than preſervation, at the will of an Omnipotency, by us ſtiled, God; though the ways how he operates be beyond our Fathom, and paſt finding out, why ſhould not Credulity reſt at the brink of this Abyſs (by all acknowledged the leaſt dangerous) rather than hazard all hope of future Beatitude, in the uncomfortable Gulf of a wretchleſs Atheiſm. There remaining as little viſible loſs to ſuch as award all Honour to our Maker, as gain for thoſe that deny him quite. Nor are we bereaved totally of the ſhadow of Omniſciency; ſince from a far lower Situation than Heaven, we are able at one glance to over-look a whole City, and by a ſingle Trumpet to Alarum an Army. Yet our Senſes are capable to receive no ſmall Augmentation from the aſſiſtance of Art; an Infallible Argument that the perfection of theſe Qualities doth not determine in the Perſon of any Creature; but ſomething paramount all that hath yet riſen within the compaſs of our experience, it being unpoſſible but a ſuperlative Power ſhould reſt ſome where. Nor can we be competent Judges of the motions of God, that have nothing to meaſure by but Senſe, much too weak to diſcern the motion of a Shadow, or the growth of a Plant, till Time hath rendred them apparent: Wherefore far unable to comprehend the Lines of Providence, Imperceptible to every Intelligence but his who hath the ſole diſpoſure of all Things. It not being probable Man ſhould comprehend the out-goings of God, whilſt he is not able to give any Reaſon for his own.

INDEX.

INDEX.

Part 1. THE Proem.

2. To precipitate Revenge no Prudence.

3. No Enemy so contemptible as to be despised.

4. To contend with Inferiours brings discredit.

5. A Friend necessary to a Courtier.

6. To oblige a Prince or State, dangerous.

7. Self-praise great imprudence.

8. To jest with Princes not safe.

9. Council to be given with caution.

10. To Laugh at a Mischance, uncharitable.

11. To upbraid any with natural Defects, uncivil, especially with Bastardy.

12. The Issue not bearing the Marks of their Ancestors, an ill ground of Jealousie.

13. The multiplying of Crosses highest Folly, as an immoderate desire of, or care for posterity, an impertinent Jealousie.

14. Patience and Moderation most necessary in humane Life.

15. Oeconomicks neglected, the ruin of great Families.

16. Great Wealths sometimes a Snare.

17. No Relation besides a Father to be confided in.

18. The Tyranny of Custom a restraint to the progress of Knowledge.

19. The Secrets of State not to be prostrated to the Vulgar.

20. The toleration of contrary Opinions dangerous.

21. Excess in any thing, a portent of ruin.

22. Affectation a sign of shallowness.

23. A sole Academick Education renders Men pedantick.

24. An universal Inspection into Science most becoming a Gentleman.

25. Great Libraries more for Pomp than Use.

26. Iron of greater use than Gold, and Manufacture than Learning.

27. Learning makes Men factious.

28. Let not a Cynical Humour make you wave Civility.

29. Moderation and Complyance deliver out of greatest Dangers.

30. Advised retraction no Levity.

31. To be the stirrup of anothers Preferment, dangerous.

32. An-

32. *Annual Magiſtracies too ſhort for great Reformation.*

33. *Whoſe Diſcourſe or Countenance betrays their Mind, unfit for Embaſſadors.*

34. *Nature endows no Individual with all Perfections.*

35. *Miniſters of State ought ſometimes to render their Senſe Ambiguous.*

36. *Good Cloaths commend a Traveller.*

37. *Princes need wiſe Counſels.*

38. *Uxorious Princes of dangerous conſequence to a State.*

39. *The Allyance of the Auſtrian Family moſt ſuccesful to* England.

40. *Hope lulls Induſtry aſleep, and is often the decay to Nature.*

41. *Plantations moſt happy at their firſt planting, becauſe leſs numerous.*

42. *Moſt Wars occaſioned by the Jealouſies of ſmall Royallets.*

43. *The Spaniards waving* Aſia *in expectation to conquer* Europe, *impolitick and unſucceſsful.*

44. *The ſpeculative and practical parts of Politicks require different Tempers.*

45. *Bloody Princes odious and imprudent. To aſcend a Throne by much Blood, unſafe.*

46. *That Monarchy moſt durable, that is founded on beſt Policy.*

47. *Tyranny not only natural but neceſſary.*

48. *Honeſty and Prudence not inconſiſtent.*

49. *The opinion that good Works merit, very natural: Hypocriſie more deſtructive to Government than Atheiſm.*

50. *Controverſies weakly handled, prejudice the Truth.*

51. *Intereſt never unfurniſhed of fair Pretences, for ſuborning Conſcience.*

52. *Oaths become Traps for the Innocent where Conſcience is ununthroned.*

53. *Where Conſcience is ſwayed by Intereſt, there is no true judgment of either Fault or Merit.*

54. *Difference of Judgment a wrong ground for alienation of affection. The redundant Zeal of the Paipſts to be pitied.*

55. *The Concluſion exploding Atheiſm.*

Poli-

Political Reflections

UPON THE

GOVERNMENT

OF THE

TURKS.

Nicholas Machiavel. The King of *Sweden's* Deſcent into *Germany.* The Conſpiracy of *Piſo* and *Vindex* againſt *Nero.* The Greatneſs and Corruption of the Court of *Rome.* The Election of Pope *Leo* the XI. The Defection from the Church of *Rome.* *Martin Luther.*

By *FRANCIS OSBORN*, Eſq;

LONDON,

Printed for *A.* and *J. Churchill.* 1700.

TO THE

READER.

SInce our Bleſſed Saviour draws a Precedent for Prudence, from the unjuſt Deportment of a wicked Steward; and recommends to his followers the Subtilty of Serpents, with a no leſs Emphaſis than the Innocence of Doves; I truſt (in this Juncture when the Preſs groans to be delivered of the Burden ſhe ſuſtains from their more ſeditious and prophane Off-ſpring, who deſire to foment War; and Chriſtian Magiſtrates reckon their Subjects diſobedience in the heavieſt *Item*, they account for with God, in their ſolemn Humiliations;) I ſhall not be the worſe eſteemed by Men judicious and moderate, for taking ſome choice Obſervations out of the *Turkiſh Arcana*, which garbled and weighed according to the true Ballance of the Sanctuary, may not impoſſibly mind thoſe at the Helm of Expedients more proper for Unity, than have yet been imployed among Chriſtians: Where though Chriſt be owned under the greateſt demonſtration of Self-denial, yet Uncharitableneſs abounds, and leſs awful Obedience is given to God's Vice-gerents in Chriſtian Common-wealths, than the Apoſtle *Paul* did award to Infidels. Nor doth the Church, ſet in the Firmament of Regality for the Luminary and direction of all Subjection due to our Heavenly and Earthly Guides, keep to her proper Sphere, if, from a Medium between us and our Maker, ſhe becomes a ſtickler in things purely belonging to the Magiſtrate, our Obedience, like that of the Catholicks, muſt ſtill ſtagger

betwixt two Supreams; It being impoſſible for the beſt or worſt of Governours to be longer in quiet, than ſhe is pleaſed to permit them: And this apprehended by ſome (better fitted and reſolved for the diſcovery of Errors, than able or willing to mend them) they conclude, all the miſchiefs ariſing through the loud Fulminations, the Spirit of Contention hath, or may have, darted out of the Pulpit, flow from the Riches and Splendour of the Clergy, that upon a more ſerious Account may be laid to the abuſe and ill adminiſtration of their Office and Power, which duly regulated, is the wholſomeſt Flower in the Crown of Government: It out-reaching the ken of Example to find a State happy, where the Prieſthood is expoſed to the Peoples Contempt, or Religion ſuffered to be weighed at the common Beam; which muſt needs happen, where their Maintenance is Scandalous, and their Perſons deſpicable, or not vigorouſly protected by the Hand of Authority; to whom they do, or at leaſt might bring Obedience, without putting it to the trouble of reward or Puniſhment. Nor would the Laity ſo much grumble at the payment of Tythes, were they wiſe enough to weigh the great Advantage they have through the Churches dependance on their wel-fare, which would be quite loſt, did their maintenance drop out of the immediate Hand of the Prince, as it doth among the Turks; who are too well read in Policy, to break or diſmember ſo uſeful an Engine, becauſe it may or might, for want of Circumſpection, have bruiſed the fingers of thoſe it ought to preſerve. But if this points at any prejudice in Church or State, I am reſolved to remain no obſtinate Heretick, but to caſt it at the feet of the ſame Authority, Providence hath ſet me under, and for whoſe ſake I firſt took it up. And this I hope will ſatisfie the wiſe Reader; but for Critical Fools, the ordinary ſort of Book-worms, who, like Iron-moles, diſcolour the Senſe, and obliterate the natural meaning of Authors, by their ſpurious and tart Cenſures; eſteeming nothing fit to paſs cur-

currant, that hath not deſcended from their Anceſtors, whoſe fouleſt Blots they paint over with fairer Gloſſes than they can find colour for in the general Ignorance (ſome few Pens excepted) that did then bleer the Underſtandings of Subjects, extending in the mean time the no leſs innocent, if not more uſeful Modern Endeavours upon the cruel rack of a ſevere Scrutiny, till ſome Pretext is found for to ground Detraction upon: This I ſay, cannot diſcourage me from proſecuting what Conſcience informs me may advance Setlement, who have long been taught, That the way lies to the Paradiſe of Peace, through the Purgatory of Cenſure, which all muſt expect to find their Sails filled with, that ſteer contrary to the Current of Antiquity, imagined only by idle Dunces, to have pinned the Basket: For ſince this Age hath the uſe of their Plat-forms, and the ſame Tools, it lies not in my Cap to apprehend, why it may not Operate as well and wiſely. To conclude, ſuch as have, or do hereafter modeſtly proſecute a farther revelation of Knowledge, ought not to be diſcouraged, or unwillingly imploy their Talents, as many do that come betrayed to the Preſs, or led more by Friends importunity, than their own Genius: For though their Contemporaries ſerve them as the Jews did the Prophets, yet when Death hath laid them out of the reach of Envy, and perſonal Contempt, Poſterity ſhall not only commiſerate the Cruelty of that neglect they lay under in their life time, but build Monuments to their immortal Fame.

THE

THE TURKISH POLICY, OR, OBSERVATIONS UPON THE Government of the TURKS.

NOT to aſcend the higheſt ſtep of the Turkiſh Pedigree (whoſe primitive Actions, no leſs than thoſe of the Goths, lie buried in the Rubbiſh their huge Vaſtations have formerly made through the Eaſtern Empire, and ſince in that of the Weſt, upon the ſcore of whoſe eternal reproach, they keep their Royal Port in the Emperial City:) I ſhall only obſerve the prudent Deportment of *Mahomet* (owned by all for their Founder) without taking more notice of his or their extraction, than what may ſerve to illuſtrate the following Diſcourſe, projected rather to delineate the wiſe Track he hath chalked out to his Succeſſors, and what exact followers they have been of it, (which few have done) than the Deeds themſelves, uſually found ſcored at the end of every Street. Though I believe, with great partiality, and many omiſſions, in relation to the ſhame and terrour they have brought upon Chriſtendom (through

(through the diviſion of whoſe Princes they have attained this grandeur) the Fate of their Atchievements, who want Pens of their own to Regiſter their Stories; in which this Emperour, no leſs than his Succeſſors, have been ſtill defective: Yet he that conſiders what hath followed, cannot take it for an Hyperbole, to ſay, the main difference between *Alexander*, *Ceſar*, and *Mahomet* conſiſts in a Feather, or the Quill of a Gooſe.

2. He had the happineſs to ſet up under a moſt auſpicious juncture; the greateſt Politicians then extant, being more imployed in molding an Eccleſiaſtical Monarchy, and mending the Rents, the Schiſmaticks of thoſe times had made in the Church, than in improving any temporal Power, or raiſing Banks that might ſtop ſuch an inundation, as ſo great a Snow-ball was likely to cauſe upon the face of that Earth, where-ever it came to refund.

3. His followers were owners of no vaſter Underſtandings than might render them pliable to Labour and Diſcipline: Who being of a brutiſh and wild imployment, did not only under-go the hardſhip of War, but were ready to yield all awful Obedience to ſuch marks of Worſhip, or religious Obſervations, as he was pleaſed to impreſs upon their yet unſuborned imaginations: Not ſo eaſily obtained from acuter heads, who are apt to pretend a ſufficiency in determining the truth or falſhood of that, Authority hath allotted for an unqueſtioned Creed: The more to be avoided by all new Legiſlators, becauſe known ſo pernicious to eſtabliſhed Common-wealths and Monarchies, as the promoters of Sedition, are ſeldom found to take Horſe at any other block than what they perceive the People apteſt to ſtumble at, in relation to God's Worſhip No Colony having been obſerved for to dilate it ſelf, that held not at leaſt ſo long conſtant to one profeſſion in Religion, till Time and Succeſs had eſtated them in a power able to reſiſt any Enemy; by nothing eaſier brought about than a confident Report of ſome Miracle, which once riveted into the opinion of the People,

People, by Cuſtom and Education, cannot after be removed without the hazard of all. This made him profeſs a daily Commerce with Angels, and pretend the terrible Fits incident to his Diſeaſe, as Holy Ecſtaſies, in which God did mind him of the way and means how to lead his People. And according to this Pattern, a Law was founded, ſo ſuitable to the higheſt Taſte of humane Senſuality, and obvious to a carnal apprehenſion, that it was ſwallowed by this Rabble for the undoubted and pure Will of God, and he looked upon for his moſt Holy Prophet. To the advancement of which Belief their Ignorance did mainly contribute, found by experience, the ſtrongeſt aſſertor of what ſhe confidently believes, though in it ſelf never ſo improbable. And after ſome farther commerce had throughly eſtated their Conſciences in this perſuaſion, they grew zealous, that is, affectionate, and deſirous to propagate where ever they came, ſuch Opinions as their Governors had contracted them to, out of no higher ſanctity at firſt, than to keep them entire and chaſte in their Worldly obedience.

4. Neither were the Proſelytes of this new Prophet checked, in the earneſtneſs of their Purſuit after Empire, by the confluence of contrary accidents, and the number of rubs the unſteady hand of ſo contingent a War, could not chuſe but caſt daily in their way; but the more enflamed, as taking them rather for incitements to further cruelties towards others, than any ſtop to the unjuſt encroachments they made upon the Principalities of their Neighbours; looked upon by them as Enemies to God, and ſo, like the *Canaanites*, fit only to be eradicated, for the better eaſe and advantage of themſelves. Or if any croſs event was apprehended relating to them, they put it off as if it only concerned their Remiſneſs in the intended Work of the Lord, which was to ſpoil others, and enrich themſelves. This abates the wonder of their Victories, who have the Art to draw encouragement from the beſt or worſt of ſucceſſes: For through the claſhing of theſe contrary events,

events, *Mahomet* kindled ſuch a blind zeal amongſt their overheated Ignorance, as it conſumed all before them, without the leaſt conſideration had of things Sacred or Prophane.

5. And to preſerve this Child of his Ambition, from being ſtifled in the ſwadling cloths, through an overlaying of Neighbours (who were called in prudence to the cruſhing of ſuch deſigns, had they not been rendred deaf by the janglings between the Greek and Latin Churches) *he gathers the chiefeſt ingredients of his Inſtitutes out of the Gardens, both of the Jewiſh and Chriſtian Religion*; leaving his Sectariſts in groſs, to their more looſe and acceptable primitive Heatheniſms; inſerting few Novelties but what reſpected his own Perſon, which he doth not ſtile a God, though he arrogates to himſelf a Supremacy over all his Prophets.

6. Yet did he not only forbid the uſe of Images, as may be thought, in imitation of *Moſes* (who by that bred ſuch a hatred in the *Jews* againſt all Nations, as kept a conſiderable part of them from mingling to this day) but out of as deep a Reaſon of State, in relation to continuance: Since it is impoſſible, if a Nation once attains an univerſal prudence, but that the deceitful knack of ſuch a carnal adoration muſt needs grow loathſome, or ly obvious to their Reproof that ſhall make it their full Employments to find Faults; and after an opportunity is eaſily gained, to foment a change, by diſcovering to the people abſurdities in their Worſhip; which is better prevented in one directed, as his is, to the only inviſible and omnipotent Creator, whoſe Nature and Power is ſo far remote from the weak Apprehenſions of men, as the ſharpeſt reaſon is not able to batter a Faith built ſolely upon it.

7. And by this prudent Election, he hath ſo far prevailed againſt the corruption of Innovation (a Ruſt all other Profeſſions have contradicted in leſs time) as no conſiderable Schiſm hath yet broke out amongſt them: For that between the *Turk* and *Perſian*, lies rather in the Genealogy of their Prophets, than the body of

of the belief he first founded. At such time, lest Novelty and want of Proof should detect him too apparently, he takes *Abraham* into his Party, whom he owns for the Father of himself and his Followers; giving a no less honourable Character of Christ and his Mother, to please the Christians, than of *Moses* to amuse the *Jews*; yet hath no milder design than the destruction of them both. And by this universal Complyance, he rendred his detestable Errors more glib to the wide swallow of that Ignorance the World did then gape withal: The cause his Doctrine was embraced by as unquestioned a Belief, as that of the *Jew* or Christian, whom they look upon as owners of more improbable Opinions than theirs, and less tending to the Honour of that universal Goodness which respects the profit and well-being of his Creatures.

8. In relation to whom the *Turks* Sabbath, no less than the *Jews*, was without doubt instituted, to give a Comfortable Relaxation to the poor Beast, as well as Slaves, whom *Moses* observed to lead a life in *Ægypt*, worse than death it self. Therefore he derives the Institution of the Sabbath, from the mouth of God, to be of no less Antiquity than the Creation. And on this day men were suffered to do no labour, but to keep a holy rest unto the Lord; by which a Terrour was struck into the Contemners of the Law, and a great Love and mutual Confidence infused among Neighbours, no small promoters of Conquest; such standing closest in time of danger as are of neerest relations in Religion and Friendship. Besides, these Weekly Meetings do much civilize a Nation, satisfying no less the minds of the zealous, than they moderate the passions of the Factious and Disobedient, by the great alloy received from the solemn Devotion observable in their Priests, who use such humble prostrations, and catching Ceremonies, in the exercise of their Divine Rights (which yet admit of no scandal, because prosecuted in suit of no Representation, but to the imploring of the only Omnipotent God, in whose service all things are to be

be employed) as ſuch are terrified into an Obedience of the Law, out of a future Fear that could not elſe be reſtrained by a preſent ſecular danger, or after-hope; imagining a number of poſſibilities to hide that from Men, which nothing is able to cover from the ſight of God.

9. Of ſuch vaſt concernment is a grave and prudent Clergy to well-being, though of late much ſlighted among ſome ſort of Chriſtians, not ſo wiſe as to obſerve that the Eye for the moſt part, is caught before the Heart; and that Auſterity and Reverence in external Worſhip (if deveſted of all advantages elſe) cannot be denied to have a huge operation upon Obedience to the Civil Magiſtrate. It being unlikely, that ſuch as take Decency in divine Worſhip for Idolatry, ſhould not ſoon be worn out of Reverence to their Governours, ſince the moſt deſtructive Parity begins always in the Church.

10. No Law is more intent upon the Honour and Profit of Monarchy, than the *Turks*: For though a Monk had a finger in the Pie, yet *Mahomet* was ſo skilful as to ſeaſon it to his own palate. Neither were many Chriſtian Princes leſs abſolute at firſt, than he, till their Subjects by Money, Importunity, or Arms had moderated their power, which we do not find this Nation ever went about; Servitude, by Uſe, becoming a ſecond Nature. But had their Ordinances, like ours, been voted by ſuch a Compoſition of Eſtates, wherein the Prieſt-hood had made the principal ingredient, for Wiſdom, if not Authority, it is very poſſible they might have more related to Religion; which, like the *Indian* Fig-tree, is of ſo vaſt an extent, as it hath been able, not only to harbour an Hoſt of Churchmen; but their Bag and Baggage, together with all the plunder they are able to make, by breaking the Hearts, and ranſacking the more tender Conſciences of Dying-men: as is apparent in *Rome*, and might have been the ſame at *Meca*, had he not prevented it by a choicer prudence, than our Emperours have formerly contributed to their affairs.

11. Nor

11. Nor is it a contemptible Paradox to maintain, that the *approach of Ruin or Slavery to a Nation, is viſible at firſt in a too Rich or Meagre Face of the Church.* That cauſing a Conſumption, by ſucking too much from the Eſtates and Power of the Laity, as this doth a Fever, by putting all into a preſent hazard, under the deſtructive pretence of an over-heated zeal. The ſame counſel being neceſſary to all Princes, in relation to Religion, and the guiders of it, as *Phaeton* is ſaid to receive from his Father, when he undertook the conduct of the Horſes of the Sun; The Church being a Planet of that nature, that if it ſoar too high, it choaks Vertue and Sanctity in the ſuperfluous Ceremonies, ſhe is apt to produce; which like too much paint, adulterates the face of Truth: but if ſhe be kept too low, it doth not only burn and conſume all ſuperfluous excreſcencies, but Decency and Order; Allays, without which we can have no Uniformity in a Religious commerce: Since the Myſteries of our Salvation cannot be preſented to us but in Earthen Veſſels; from whence, if they did not retain ſome tincture, we could not ſo naturally own them as relating to us: Nay, an indiſcreet zeal doth ſo far participate of the qualities of the Air ove-heated, that it hatcheth the Plagues of Rebellion where ever it is found, pretending their Prince negligent in Religion, or too exorbitant in his affection to Court-Minions, or an infringer of the Law, and obſtructer of Juſtice; weapons of Sedition, eaſily forged, if not found to lie ready before the Gates of the beſt of Kings; which ſubtil men ſnatch up, and put into the hands of ſuch, as they have formerly intoxicated with a deſire of Reformation, who ſeldom give over, till they meet their own ruin, or the Sates.

12. If *Mahomet* exceeded the Commiſſion of Diſcretion, in ſwelling his Alcoran to ſo large a Volumn, (multiplicity of words breeding, in the ſame plenty, Ambiguities, among Divines as Lawyers:) Yet he provided againſt this inconvenience, with as much caution as a by-paſt error is capable to admit, in prohibiting

ting the Reading of it to any but the Prieſts, and the Interpretation to all but the Mufty. For though the *Jews* were enjoyned to ſcore the Commandments on the Walls, as they did wear them after written on their Cloaths; yet none but the High-Prieſt was ſuffered to enter into the Holy of Holies, or make any near approach into the innermoſt place of the Temple, from whence the Oracles did proceed.

13. Neither is it a ſlight occaſion of the Turkiſh Unity, that their Alcoran lies patent to the Expoſition of none but their own Pope: And that Petitions to God are frequenter made among them than Exhortations or Sermons to the People: Becauſe by the firſt they are humbled, through the repetition of their ſins and wants; and by the other, puffed up with the oſtentation of their good parts: Or, (if it may paſs in no worſe ſenſe than it is uttered) in Praying we beg ſomething of God we need; in Preaching he ſeems to demand obedience from us, which no reaſonable Creature will think he can want. To ſay truth, the frequency of Preaching (to avoid the tedious repetition of the ſame thing) hath created ſuch a Familiarity tween us and our Maker, and a Feud againſt all that ſerve him not our way; as ſome take the boldneſs to predicate, He cannot do this or that, limiting his Mercy ſo far as to exclude from Salvation, not only the *Turks*, but all the reſt of the World; ſo ſmall a ſpot excepted as a Fly may cover in an ordinary Globe. Do not theſe vain pleaders give the Devil more than (I hope) is his due? Contrary to the verdict paſſed by God himſelf, who ſaid, *The Earth is the Lord's, and all that therein is*; without excepting thoſe many and vaſt Territories, too happy, rich and fair, to be let out to the Prince of Darkneſs, by the great and magnificent Landlord of the World.

14. The whole ſcope of the more charitable Turkiſh Doctrine, concludes in theſe Uſes; *The Honour of God, Obedience to their Prince, Mutual Love, Reſolution in War*, with an invincible Patience in bearing all

Terreſtrial wants: The laſt, as a Hoop compaſſing the reſt, by which they are rendred the righteſt Veſſels againſt Sedition, and the apteſt to retain all things neceſſary to compliance in Government.

15. Yet, the more to ſtrengthen this tie upon the Subject, all hope of perfect Happineſs in this World is ſuppreſſed, and their Imaginations wholly engaged on that which is to come: By this, the fear of lapſing into groſſer Idolatry, or profounder Atheiſm, is prevented; being bred only in expectation of Miſery here, and ſo more guilty than ſenſible of that ridiculous folly *David* ſo much upbraids them with, that conſume time in the ſervice of Gods that have neither Eyes to ſee, Ears to hear, nor Wills to help ſuch as pray to them: For this Stupidneſs once found in that we have been taught to make the Object of our Worſhip, and joyning Forces with the Afflictions, that do ordinarily attend the Beſt, and the Bleſſings not obſerved to baulk the moſt Impious: This, I ſay, doth often hurry ſuch as have had their hopes deluded, or adjourned beyond the extent of a ſmall Faith, into wretchleſs Infidelity, or which is worſe, a low and deſpicable Opinion of their Maker; avoided by the Mahometans, who look for no remoter cauſes of Afflictions, than what reſult from perſonal Miſcarriages, or the will of thoſe in Authority; aſſigning their Maker an higher imployment than the attending or accompliſhing our earthly deſires, which if attained, they might poſſibly hinder us from greater in Heaven, to which this World is but a troubleſome and dark Paſſage. Nor can the Turks prevarications upon a moſt partial Scrutiny, bear that ſtreſs of wickednes the more ſeared Conſciences of ſome Chriſtians dſdaily endure, manifeſt in the French Maſſacre; the foulneſs of which Story hath not yet been matched by *Mahomet*, or any of his Diſciples, never found to have born ſuch bitter Fruit.

But not to inſiſt upon the Equity or Reaſon of their Law, it gives them (as the Prieſts manage it) a ſatisfactory pretence, to eſteem all ways decent and conſonant

ſonant to Religion, that are able or likely to enlarge their Empire: Not queſtioning the Quarrel no more than the future Happineſs of ſuch Souls as have the Fate to expire in it. And if upbraided herewith, they deſire the Pope to Catechize his moſt Catholick Son, how he came by *Portugal*, *Naples*, *Milan*, *Sicily*, &c. And what Warrant is he able to produce from the Avenger of Blood, that might Authorize him to ſhed that Ocean he let out in *America*, upon no more ſerious occaſion than Gold, and the Converſion of the People into Slaves to dig it? Can there be a ranker Blaſphemy offered againſt the Lord of Hoſts than to ſet up his Standard in ſo vaſt and ſanguine a Field of Ambition; and the Croſs of his Son in a greater Golgotha than that wherein he was crucifyed? And all this under pretence of Religion, as if God were leſs jealous of the Honour of his Church, than the Prieſts were of their Temple, into the Verge of which they would not admit the Price of Blood; much leſs then can the Judge of all things accept the Perſons of thoſe that ſhed it.

16. The awfulneſs the Turks bear to the Name of God is ſo great, that they dare not employ the Paper wherein they find it written to any baſe Office, but leave it hid in a hole to the farther diſpoſure of the Owners providence; and therefore poſſibly not ſo likely as Chriſtians (who obſerve no ſuch decency) to call it to the witneſs of an untruth; much to the advantage of Governors there, as it might be in *Chriſtendom*, did Cuſtom or Law ſcrew the Peoples minds up to as high an eſteem of it. Neither would this leſſen, but increaſe the benefit Stateſ-men make by diſpenſing with its Abuſe, which is now ſo often and groſly practiſed, as it is apparent to the multitude, who are apter to follow the Example of their Kings, than the Doctrine of their Teachers; and might, (if any Apparation of Juſtice or Religion were extant in their Governors) have their Paſſions, as the *Turks*, ſtirred up to approbation or diſlike, proportionable to the more or leſs diſ-

mal relations their Priests read to them out of their Mahumetan Legend; so much the more excusable, because the awe born to these, though but Fictions, doth help to spare the more ungrateful Rod, the too frequent use of which hath in all times, produced more Fear than Love.

17. This proves, *A false Religion doth contribute more to Safety, than Atheism*, or a stupid Neglect of all Worship; and that a Clergy is of Excellent Concernment, provided they keep close in their Doctrine, to Reason of State; not to be brought about, but through the mediation of their own Interest, by nothing so easily biassed, as Comfortable Livings and severe Deaths or Punishments, in case their Exhortations go contrary to the grain of the Civil Government; whose Administrators have not so much Cause to complain of the Church-men for their Recoiling, since by their frequent setting upon the People, they taught them at last to worry themselves: their Tongue like a Sword, being as well able to wound one side as another, and moves according as it is inclined by profit or fear: Neither can any breach they have formerly made in the affairs of their Patrons, disparage the Calling, more than it doth a piece of Ordnance, that being lost through imprudence and miscarriage, doth after batter down the house of her Founder; since all their Fulminations tend that way, to which the Hand that fills their Bellies is pleased to direct them; there being none easier warped than they, nor more violent Assertors of what their own Wisdom or the World's Folly hath given them leave to call Theirs, as were easily deducible from their frequent changings; which gives me the boldness to believe, that if all, which is without question the Churches, were restored, and the dignity of their Tenets and Calling vindicated, the truly honest would comply with any Government, out of Conscience, and the rest, batter contrary Parties in hope of Preferment.

Such

Such as look upon the Mahumetan Profeſſion as of the groſſer Alloy, becauſe ſo far ſubſervient to Worldly Policy, that the Grandees and Prieſts, like Juglers, carry the coal of zeal only in their mouths, not being heated themſelves with what they go about to enflame others; ſuffering the Threats and Promiſes to raiſe no higher, or fall no lower, than ſuits with the Politick reaches of the Prince: may find other Courts ſtanding in as prophane a poſture, eſpecially that of *Rome*, (not unworthily looked upon for the Magazine from whence the reſt of the World is ſupplied, with Wiſdom, ſhall I call it, or Deceit) where Church-men, like Burning-Glaſſes, caſt the Rays of a Celeſtial Fire into the Conſciences of others; carrying in the mean time, themſelves, a cold, Cryſtalline, and Fragil Creed, towards what they endeavour to inform the People; taking upon them a publick Cure of Souls, out of a no more religious reſpect, than to provide againſt their private wants; yet connived at here, as well as by all wiſe Princes elſe; becauſe Law can promote no Good, nor prevent Evil, but what is open to publick Cognizance; whereas Religion penetrates ſo low, as to erect a Tribunal in every mind, where imagination ſits like a terrible Judge, pronouncing the charge ſhe hath been taught from Power, Cuſtom, and Education; which, through the compunction of a tender Conſcience doth ſo rack the moſt intrinſick thoughts of all prepoſſeſſed with the dread of a future account, as they do not ſeldom confeſs themſelves guilty of ſuch hainous offences, as none elſe are able to accuſe them for; expecting more eaſe from the ſentence of the publick Magiſtrate than they can find in their private Conſciences, which daily excruciate them with the terrours of Hell, and the loſs of Heaven. To conclude, *By the heat of Religion many vertues are hatched, and more Vices ſtifled in the ſhell.*

18. Yet little is obſervable in the Rites of *Mahomet*, that is Chargeable to perform, or Grievous to the Nature of Man. Perhaps the cauſe why Sacrifice is not

taken in, amongſt the number of things borrowed from the *Jews*; as thinking it incongruous with a Divine Eſſence, to be appeaſed or delighted by the loſs and blood of poor Creatures, incapable of the will, or power to tranſgreſs, though the inclination to Oppreſſion, Covetouſneſs, and Cruelty, is no more a ſtranger to their Natures than ours; which proves Sin an effect of Law and Conſtraint, rather than of Liberty or Nature. But the People of God had a higher Proſpect from theſe bloody Ceremonies, than the dark Miſt about *Mahomet* would ſuffer him, or any other out of the true Church to apprehend; elſe Wolves, and not Sheep, had furniſhed their Altars. Neither did this new State-Founder believe any merit could reſide in a voluntary Maceration, or Proſecution of our Bodies, (as if the moſt merciful God, confeſſed to have prepared in future all Cœleſtial beatitudes for thoſe that love him, ſhould for the preſent ſo far diveſt that nature, as to delight to ſee us miſerable) which makes me think, that the putting out of their Eyes before the Tomb of their Prophet (now in uſe among them) to prevent the ſight of any thing after, and the wearing of ſuch huge and painful Rings in the moſt tender parts of their bodies, grew not from any inſtitute of his, but are rather Baſtards of that Church, reputed for nothing more juſtly, the Whore of *Babylon*, than for burning her Proſelytes with ſuch exorbitant zeal, as the *Anchorits* and *Monks* are led by, when they whip and ſtigmatize themſelves, out of a hope to purchaſe Heaven: A Lunacy ſuperlative to theirs, who lend mony in this World upon humane ſecurity, to be paid in the next by God himſelf; No ways ſuitable with this Founder's Philoſophy, who would have thought it leſs Blaſphemy, with *Putarch*, to acknowledge no God at all, than to imagine him owner of ſuch Paſſions, as are unworthy, and below a Divine Eſſence.

19. THe total Abſtinence from Wine is the moſt material Sacrament of the *Turks* Obedience to *Mahomet*'s Law. Now leſt any ſhould paſs it as a leſs pertinent piece of Prudence, than really it is, I deſire thoſe that take more delight in condemning than acquitting the actions of Antiquity, to ſuſpend their Judgments, till theſe Reaſons are weighed.

1. He was not ſo poor a Naturaliſt as not to know Wine effeminates, no leſs than enervates the body of Man; the Cauſe, *Sampſon*'s Mother, together with himſelf, abſtained from it: otherwiſe he might (by the Witch, his Miſtreſs) have been as eaſily charmed into Drunkenneſs as Sleep. For though it may not unpoſſibly, conjure up a preſent furious Reſolution, it was never yet famed for a friend to the Habit of Valour.

2. It is a ſworn Enemy to Diſcipline; rendring the moſt obedient Souldiers, During that Diſtemper, deaf to all neceſſary words of Command.

3. Wine dries the Brain by Nature, and beſides, by accident, informs the Underſtanding, though the Commerce and Familiarity it breeds with Men of different Judgments: And ſo might have eaſily called up acuter Spirits, and cauſed a ſtricter ſcrutiny into the Miracles, Life, and Procedure of their Legiſlator, than an infantine Power was able to correſpond for: There being no humour ſo bad, but this ſtrong liquor is able to make worſe and inflame, by repreſenting miſcarriages in Commanders, and affronts from their Fellows, which in a calmer temper could never have floated in ſo weak Imaginations: And thus led on by Chimera's, they, like *Sampſon*, ſnatch up the moſt improbable weapons, which they do, not ſeldom, imploy in almoſt as miraculous Succeſſes.

4. The Tranſparency of Drunkenneſs, able to conceal nothing to its own Shame; and Flexibility to all things rather than Reaſon.

5. Being yet in an itinerant condition, and ſo not likely to find Wine always at hand; it could not have lain in the power of any earthly thing, but a premeditated and religious Injunction, to have kept ſuch an untutored Rabble within the compaſs of moderation, when ever they had met with it; Not ſeldom the Fate of Armies, who upon ſuch diſadvantages, have been all cut off by far inferiour Powers, being themſelves firſt overcome by Drink.

6. To end this Digreſſion, in which more might be ſaid; Wine could be no fit ingredient to mingle with the heat of the Country they marched in, and the labour they muſt needs encounter in the rough way, leading to ſo high Deſigns.

20. Not to preſume to vie Inſtances with the people of the *Jews*, who beſides the prudence of *Moſes*, had the unerring Spirit of God to direct them in all emergent occaſions (which, by the way, renders their frequent Grumblings no leſs prodigious than blaſphemous) I find few Nations more conſtant to their Founders Aphoriſms, or that give leſs way to a refining, by the agitation of experience drawn from a confluence of differing events, than the *Turk*; for which he ſtands obliged to his own firm Conſtancy in Religion, and his Neighbours often variations, which have opened the gap to his moſt ſignal Conqueſts: It being Impoſſible to ſhake this Tree of Paradice, but to the prejudice of the Prince in poſſeſſion, and benefit of ſuch ſubtil Serpents as deſire to ſupplant him; therefore not to be done out of any wantoner inſtigation, than an abſolute Neceſſity. For though the Change of an opinion that is ancient, may ſtop a Leak for the preſent, it breeds ſuch a Worm, as doth cauſe a perpetual Colick in the State: Apparent in *France*, where the Queen Mother fomented the Proteſtants, to maintain her Regency, and could never after be free from the danger of Civil War. This makes me wonder to find Toleration of Religion ſo common an Article in the Tranſactions of Princes; ſince it no ways ſutes with the complexion

of

of Prudence to palliate a preſent defect by ſuch a Recipe as may breed for the future an incurable Diſeaſe.

21. Yet becauſe many Cuſtoms, paſſing current in the Minority of Power, would prove childiſh and defective in a more Setled Condition, and after Poſterity is ſwelled to ſo conſiderable a bulk, as that the moſt numerous part may be allowed to exchange Battle-axes and Swords into Shares and Pick-axes; it could not be avoided by humane Providence, but ſomething ſhould be wanting in relation to ſo vaſt an Empire, no leſs terrible to the Ear than admirable to their Eyes, have ſeen it; a Fortune perhaps as far above the hopes of their firſt Founder, as it tranſcends the ordinary extent of the like endeavours. Therefore he deſerves, in my opinion, more commendation, for foreſeeing ſo much, than blame in omitting Proviſions againſt ſuch accidents, as none but a Prophet indeed could be ever able to preſage: Many Carriages being neceſſary to the Sword, are ſuperfluous, if not deſtructive when the Scepter is obtained: The firſt intending the death of Enemies, but the latter the preſervation of Subjects and Friends.

22. Whereupon his Succeſſors finding that though the *Keys of the Church can hang no where ſo quietly, as at the Girdle of the Prince*, (of which *Moſes* is an unerring Example) yet to give a greater luſtre to the beams of Religion (eſteemed by all, if not quite corrupted, yet far leſs pure in Secular Veſſels, than thoſe ſet wholly apart for the Worſhip of God;) and to have withal a favourable Umpire of a ſeeming more different and ſanctified alloy, ready to compoſe any Diſcontents, that might be fomented between the Civil Power and the Subject, either through others ambition, or their own oppreſſion, not unlikely to reſult from ſo abſolute a Juriſdiction. A Religious man called the Mufty, is ſet up, whoſe Habit is Green, a colour none but the Kindred of *Mahomet* are ſuffered to wear, of which number he is always ſuppoſed to be one. Now the better to enable him to ſtrike an awful Reverence into the People, in caſe a miſled Zeal ſhould melt them into Diviſions,

Diviſions, or a colder Licenſe freeze them into a chill Atheiſm, the Emperour honours the Mufty in publick, with the higheſt Reverence and moſt ſolemn Attention, Denying him nothing he dare ask; no Malefactor being ſuffered to die, hath the fortune to ſee him, or be ſeen by him as he paſſeth; The Prince placing him, upon all weighty occaſions, next the Throne, where, by his publick Geſtures, he acts a lively and terrible dread of thoſe Crackers, that contain no other Sparks of a Celeſtial fire than what reſides in true Reaſon of State: Which is the Art of Governing to the beſt advantage for Prince and People.

And though this Circumciſed Pope yields an infallible obedience to all the Emperour inſpires him with, yet being rarely ſeen, the Generality reverence him, as if they apprehended ſomething about him more than humane. And let our new Politicians practiſe what they pleaſe, Experience hath made it ſufficiently manifeſt, that *A too proſtituted Familiarity breeds contempt*, not only in things Civil, but Divine. Now ſuch as think the prudence abſolutely neceſſary to the Conduct of humane affairs, uſeleſs in thoſe relating to Heaven, may be out; For ſince Miracles, and the audible voice of God is ſilent, nothing is ſo likely as a Sanctified Policy to retain a competent Reverence for Religion, or maintain ſo much Probity, as is requiſite in a general Commerce, to keep us from murdering one another, upon the inſtigation of Covetouſneſs and Revenge. Therefore the way of Prince and Prieſt to be thought more than men, is to do nothing unworthily, ſay nothing unproperly, nor wear any thing undecently.

23. The *Turk* in this is happy, that the Mufty his Pope no leſs than *Meca* his *Rome*, are within reach of his power; ſo as he is not to ſeek for the Oracles of Religion out of his own Territories, denied by cuſtom to the moſt conſiderable part of *Europe*, whoſe Princes are regulated by the Pope's Inſpirations, not only in things concerning God, but what elſe may be fetched in by his Paſtoral Crook (*in Ordine ad Spiritualia.*)

alia.) And leſt this abſurd proceeding ſhould be expoled to a general Reformation, the Biſhop of *Rome* tolerates all Inceſtuous Matches, and other baſe and unjuſt actions, Princes deſire to have indulged, for fear, ilke *Henry* the eighth, they ſhould do it of themſelves. The conſideration of which makes them bear the heavy weight of ſo many Eccleſiaſticks, who ſcarce acknowledge any obedience but to the See of *Rome.*

24. Though the Turkiſh Court no leſs than the Common People, do afford the Gaudy plumage of Honour to the Mufty, the higheſt Bird in this Earthly Paradiſe; yet if he but offers to tune his note contrary to the true Dialect of State, he is ſtraight unperched: It having been long obſervable in this Empire, that neither Friends, Money, Sanctity, Love of People, former Deſerts, or any preſent need of the perſon's accurate Parts, were ever found Antidotes ſufficient to expel the poiſon of the Emperor's Jealouſie, who eſteems no number of Lives (though never ſo innocent) equivalent with his ſafety, or the Nations. Yet if this Holy Man comes to his death by an unnatural Obſtruction, the honour of this place is ſo far from receiving diminution by it, that his Body goes to the Grave with the leaſt aſperſion to his Fame; his Life being rather commended, ſo as his Succeſſor mounts into his Chair untainted by any Prejudice; which Chriſtians contract to their Popes or Patriarchs, by the errors they diſcover after their Deaths; The Cauſe, ſuch as ſucceed are not in ſo great eſteem as their Offices require; thought capable to be tainted with the ſame faults, their Predeceſſors were owners of: Not here imagined, becauſe the Mufty how ill ſoever he deſerved of Church or State, is Regiſtred among their Saints. In which appears the higheſt point of Policy, it being unlikely, any ſhould queſtion the truth of his Judgment when he is in being, whoſe Actions they dare not arraign after he is dead. And for his Removal, it paſſeth without the leaſt notice given to, or taken by the Generality; who are otherways imployed, either in careſſing their plurality

plurality of Wives, or diſpatching the buſineſs neceſſary to their profeſſions: Abominating us Chriſtians for walking to no more profitable an end, than to talk of News, *&c.*

25. This diſcourſe of the Mufti's diſpatch may afford ſome room by the way, to inquire into the juſtice of Clandeſtine Deaths; a Cuſtom with the *Mahumetans* but ſuch an one, as I hope never to ſee concocted into a more general practice among us; yet obſerving how our Chronicles lie overflowed with ſuch vaſt Oceans of Blood, ſpilt upon no more urgent and publick neceſſity, than what relates to the ends and ambition of a ſingle perſon, I will venture to ſay of it, and that only for the Meridian of *Turkey*, that a *Phyſician or a* Felton *may be cheaper imployed than an Army*, and with leſs prejudice to the good of the Generality, Voted by all Right and Reaſon, the Supream Law, and for whoſe Salvation Innocency himſelf was willing to die. For where the ſole power of Life and Limb reſides, as it doth here, in the breaſt of the Prince under the warrant of an uninterrupted Cuſtom (the malice making the Murder, and not the blow) I cannot think it ſo hainous a Crime, that in caſe a Subject hath juſtly forfeited his Life to the ſafety, or but the conveniency of the People, it ſhould be taken the moſt advantagious way to make the better compenſation for the damage it had or might have brought to the Publick. A private execution being eſteemed here no more Murder, where the Cauſe is juſt, than one made publick is able to expiate the blood of an Innocent.

I know, ſo many Inconveniences lie in the way of this Cuſtom, as it appears too unwieldy to be managed without danger by a ſingle perſon, whoſe Judgment cannot be ſo clearly ſeparated from paſſion, as meerly to intend his Countries preſervation, without the mixture of ſome gall of revenge; A candor not unpoſſible to be found in the State of Venice, by nothing ſo long preſerved in being, as a Cuſtom they have ſometimes to make away their greateſt Senators upon no ſtronger evi-

evidence, than what meer Suſpicion brings in againſt them; preferring rather the cutting off a Limb, in which appears the firſt Symptoms of Putrefaction, than to hazard the whole Body by an incurable Gangreen. But whether the damage of this practice, exceeds the profit, or the benefit the danger of the conſequence, cannot be eaſily reſolved; ſince Princes and Stateſmen carry often ſuch pernicious humours, as they convert that into a daily practice; which, like *David's* eating the Shew-bread, is only permitted in caſe of Neceſſity.

26. Queen *Elizabeth*, in other things the beſt conſulted Monarch that ever filled the Engliſh Throne, forfeited more good opinion and honour, in uſing the Hangman in the death of her ſiſter *Mary* of *Scotland*, than if ſhe had imployed all the Mountebanks in *Europe*: For though Princes ſtand as near the Grave as other Mortals, in relation to Diſeaſes, no leſs than Deſert; Yet the hand of Juſtice cannot decently appear in their Executions, without debauching the Majeſty of her own Power; Princes being Eſteemed the Mouth of the Law. Now ſince the Council of *England* were too pious or hypocritical, to uſe the Fig in the ſenſe of *Italy*, *Spain*, and other Nations, celebrated for more Wiſdom; they might under an higher repute of Sanctity have ſpared the Leaves, and not laid the fault on poor *Daviſon*, that did nothing but by Commiſſion; an Apron that diſcovered more ſhame than it could poſſibly hide. All looking upon it, not only as the Deſire, but the Act of the Queen and her Council, who by this publick Procedure dilated the Reproach over the whole Nation. Now I appeal to all not indulgent to a Form of Juſtice, though never ſo ridiculous, who obligeth his Priſoner moſt, he that takes away the irkſome Ceremonies, Diſhonour and Expectation of Death, or he that accumulates them all on a Block? As if that which is Murther in a Chamber, were not only far greater, but more terrible on a Scaffold, where nothing but Death and her attendants appear.

27. But

17. But to return to *Turkey*. It lyes not out of the way of poſſibility, but that the Grand Seignior, in regard of his abundance of Wives, may have two, or more Children at one and the ſame time: Therefore to break the neck of all Diſputes apt to reſult from contrary Claims; the *Emperor in fact ſtrangles all the reſt*; a confeſt Tyrannical Tragedy, not to be heard without deteſtation; yet we fear too often acted among Chriſtians, elſe the Line of the Catholick King, no leſs than that of *France*, and thoſe ſmaller ones in *Italy*, might long ſince have Choaked their Felicity in a Crow'd of Rebellions: Neither need I end here, were it my deſign to exceed the Counterpane by home-born examples. Yet ſuch a Querie may be ſeaſonably made, If the good of All (as I ſaid before) be the Supream Law, and grounded upon that of Nature, whoſe chief buſineſs is to intend the preſervation of the whole, without any nicer relation to particulars, than to place or remove them according as they ſuit or bring profit to the general occaſions, a duty all are born to; why ſhould ſuch be blamed as take the moſt probable ways to promote Peace, and Poſtern-Gates of the Court, by which more dangerous Wars enter, than do ordinarily proceed from the invaſions of Strangers? And here by the way, we may note, That *Re-publicks have not ſuch impulſive cauſes to ſhed innocent blood, as Kings*: eſpecially after that Sluce is ſtopt, which the moſt for their preſervation are forced to let run at firſt, till the State is reduced to an wholſom Parity, and the ambitious itch of all Pretenders cured.

28. Nothing is penal by the Laws of this Nation, but what is always, or at leaſt for the preſent, deſtructive to the well-being of the Prince or People: By which the more active Youth (the ſtrongeſt ingredient to compoſe an Army of) remain ſo fully ſatisfied with an uninterrupted Licence to attain the fartheſt extent of their deſires, as they apprehend no felicity beyond the Liberty they enjoy: And in ſuch as Time and Wearineſs hath exchanged the humour of Luſt, for one more

more Thriving, the Priviledge they have to exact on ſtrangers, hinders their apprehenſions from finding that loathſome taſte, Foreigners imagine to reſult from ſo abſolute a Juriſdiction, as is, and hath been for many Ages exerciſed by their Emperours over them. And thus the State is a double gainer, this Indulgence affording opportunity for all to lay out themſelves to the advantage of their Country, either in getting Wealth, or Souldiers to defend it.

29. Contrary to the practice of Chriſtians, that plant the Canons of their Law, and arm the Meſſengers of Death and Damnation againſt the Gnats of juvenile laſpes, but permit the weightier ſins of Oppreſſion, Schiſm, and Ambition, which never leave boyling in ſlie heads, till they diſcover an opportunity, by which they may overflow the ancient Government, in turning the peoples eyes towards the Faults of their Prince, and ſtopping them with prejudice againſt his Vertues: which may be done under the Seal of ſo ſecure a Caution, as the Actors are often upon the Stage, before thoſe intended to be the ſubject of the Tragedy are able to take notice of it, eſpecially in Nations glutted with Peace and Plenty, or ſuch as long to caſt off an uſurped Power; whereas it is poſſible, if Nature were not ſo hard curbed, and deprived of vent (by which ſhe is not ſeldom carried through an impetuous Luſt, out of the true rode of Generation) ſuch Minds might be taken up with leſs deſtructive diverſions; This deſire being as hard to be appeaſed, as that of hunger or thirſt: Neither can the defects daily obſerved to increaſe in our Iſſue, be juſtly imputed to any thing elſe, than the meager deſires, ſo ſtrict a confinement breeds in us, by which the ſpirits are ſo curdled and quelled, as they rarely produce any thing admirable for ſtrength or ſtature, the higeſt perfections of Nature, and no leſs uſeful in Peace than War; ſo as the Names and Eſtates of the moſt illuſtrious Families this Age affords, depend on Children our Forefathers would hardly have Chriſtened; being fit for nothing

thing but Learning; a Trade had never been so overbid, but to find imployment for these Changlings; who Fairy-like throw about Fire-brands in State and Church, upon the least apprehension of any want or superfluity in Ceremony or Decency. To conclude, Such as too rigidly expect by their forked Laws, any natural desires, forget they will return, or break out into a worse mischief; no less than the more prudent Advice of *Solomon*, *not to wring the nose* of the People to avoid Excrements, *lest Blood should follow:* For if Law did not out-wrangle Nature, she might possibly be heard to plead, that our ordinary Marriages do rather tire than satisfie her Desires. And though it may not be owned as a decent Poesy for the Ring-leaders to Sedition, yet the setting too high a mulct upon the People's Peccadillo's, and dissents in Judgment, no way in their power to prevent, though possibly to dissemble, is the cause of a loathing of the present Government, and a certain presage of ruin to all in Authority, if not the whole State, to be brought about under the pretence of zeal to Religion, and care of the Peoples Liberty; though the first is no more visible in the Church, than the latter is in the civil Administration of Affairs; far exceeding the Cheat of *Ananias* and *Saphira*, who gave a considerable part of what was their own, whilst these swallow all the primitive Charity had laid out in pious uses, belying so far the holy Spirit, as to pretend the worst they can say or do, is dictated by it. And I wish *Mahomet* were only guilty in this, who made not his Religion alone, but his loathsome Disease a Baud to his Ambition and Rapine.

30. Punishments in *Turkey* are more sharp than common, which doth rather stupefy than waken the humour to Rebellion; and are executed on open Malefactors not the Darlings of the People, removing the latter upon occasion by a clancular Procedure; As in case a Mad-man (one of the Prophets of their Rabble for such they esteem so) should inveigh against Authority, they are far wiser than to stigmatize or whip them through

through the City (as we uſed to do) before the People, who take themſelves not only concerned, but wounded in the general Liberty, through their ſufferings; it being their nature to take hold of, and believe any evil report of ſuch Governours (at leaſt) as are imployed in Taxes, or any other ungrateful Service, though moſt neceſſary for the uſe of the State: Therefore in ſuch caſes, if they cannot tempt him over to their ſide, by Gold, they ſtop his mouth with ſomething leſs cordial; and if his Body be found, no diligence is omitted in the enquiring after ſome Ruffin, on whom the People may be likely to father the Murther, or the Corps not appearing, they pretend him wrapt up into Heaven by the mediation of their great Prophet, at whoſe feet he ſits pleading their cauſe, and Guarding them from ſome plague, they ſay, impends over them for their Diſobedience to the Emperour, the Vice-gerent of God upon Earth. Nor doth this oftentimes ſerve, but a ſolemn Faſt is appointed, where the Stateſ-men do in ſhew, and the Ignorant in pure Zeal, afflict themſelves; during which time, the News of ſome Victory, or happy Accident, is brought and owned as the return of their Prayers, no leſs than a heavenly approbation given to the Actions of thoſe in power: Thus after the multitude have been ſufficiently chaſtiſed for the Courtiers Faults, they become humble and quiet, ſubmitting their backs to any burden, out of a fear of worſe, and an opinion they have that is conſonant to the will of God.

Yet in my Judgment, no wiſe Prince ought to tire out this Remedy by a too often Application, leſt it ſhould not only loſe its Vertue, but breed a worſe Diſeaſe; an over-heated Zeal conſuming not ſeldom the wrong end to that for which it was at firſt kindled, being apt to be driven by the contrary Winds of Ambition and Covetouſneſs upon the Church, where the Buckets uſe to hang, likelier to quench the Flames of any other Sedition, than what reſults from this Wild Fire; which for the moſt part melts the Lead, and

conſumes the Foundation of the Houſe of God, under pretence of his Service; a courſe that is ſo far from edification, that it makes all, not acquainted with the true knack of Ambition, hate to be reformed: whoſe ſecond remove is to the Court, where finding all things in a rotten condition, or at beſt obnoxious to be conſtrued to a ſenſe contrary to the prepoſſeſſed minds of the major part; the whole Fabrick is conſumed, to the very Perſon of the Prince, out of whoſe aſhes another ariſeth that proves a Bird of the ſame Feather, if not a worſe: The Subjects returning home laden, for the generality, with no more benefit than the Beggars, that in a drunken fit expoſe themſelves to the danger of the Law, Wounds, Beating, and Death, only to burn the old Whipping Poſt; though daily experience informs them, they can neither be quiet or ſafe without it, which is the cauſe that in all places they ſet up a new one, when the fury of the diſtemper is over. *Thus are Subjects no leſs vain, that do rebel, than Governours mad, that provoke them to it.*

31. The Subjects in *Turkey* have nothing hereditary: All Honours, and places of profit, being peculiar to Deſert, and determine with Life, without the leaſt partiality ſhewed to Greatneſs of Birth, unleſs that it produceth more jealouſie than favour, to have deſcended from a Father formerly in power. This hangs no leſs weight of Reſtraint on the Ambition of all in actual Adminiſtration of publick Affairs, than it adds Induſtry to ſuch as have not yet attained to that height. By which a foul errour in *Europe* is obviated, where men aſcend to the higheſt places by the mediation of Friends and Money, rather than any advantage their worth brings to the Common-wealth: It being moſt ordinary for Fools to be admitted into the Temples of Honour and Riches, whileſt the choiceſt endowments of Art and Nature are ſuffered to pray, if not beg, without.

32. The Emperour's being here Adminiſtrator to all dead mens Eſtates, forceth their Children to be ſolici-

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tous after Trades; as having none to rely on for a future maintenance, but themſelves. And to add reputation to this laudable Cuſtom the Grand Seignior profeſſeth ſome Art himſelf, in which he diſdains not to conſume his ſpare time. From whence accrues this benefit to the State, That Disbanded Souldiers (the Peſt of Chriſtian Nations) are one day in Arms, the next at work in their Shops. Neither have they ſuch confluence of Idle men, Lawyers, and Scholars, which among us make up a third of the People, and are, for the moſt part Contrivers and Fomenters of all the diſtractions found in Church and State: From whence reſults the ſevereſt of the Curſes, God left to the choice of *David*; For the Plague and Famine terminate chiefly in Children and the weakeſt of Men; whereas the Sword (like ſome Monſters recorded) makes the faireſt Women and choiceſt Men, the object of its luſt and fury, and therefore brings an incomparable infelicity whereever it reigns.

33. This Cuſtom of Trade and independency on future hope religiouſly obſerved, doth cut the cords of ſuch Vanities as draw Chriſtians into Luxury, by a profuſe expenſe in Furniture, and no leſs exceſs in Building, to a treble proportion of what the Owner needs, in relation to his particular Family; the burial of Timber and other rich Materials, much to the prejudice of Shipping, beſides the Rent-charge it puts upon the poſſeſſors Revenue to maintain it in Repair.

34. Neither is this People apt to follow the European vanities of Horſe-races, Hunting, Hawking, and amorous Entertainments: Their plurality of Women quenching with more ſecurity in regard of Health, and leſs Charge, the thirſt of Change ordinarily attending the tedious cohabitation with one.

35. The *Turks* are very magnificent in publick Buildings, eſpecially, ſuch as relate to the ſervice of God; none of the weakeſt effects of their Teachers ſufficiency; who by working upon tender Conſciences, are

able (like ours) to make them ſo unnatural Fools, as to skip their neareſt Relations, and to deſign what they got, they know not how, in providing Conveniences for they know not whom: By which means ſuch Baths and Moſcos are erected, as do encreaſe the eaſe of Travellers, no leſs than the Zeal of thoſe that make the purchaſe of Heaven the Object of their Endeavours, whileſt Chriſtians raiſe the Names of Benefactors out of the fore-heads of ſumptuous piles, ſuffering the ill-mingled ingredients of Covetouſneſs, and a burning deſire of Change in Religion, to conſume brave Monuments of Charity, by alienating the Lands, and melting the Lead of the Houſes, which a more ancient and fervent Zeal (though now indited of Superſtition) had ſolder'd on: Therefore if I were worthy to give Advice to our publick Spirits, they ſhould hereafter aſſign their Legacies and Contribution towards the mending of Common Ways, and erecting uſeful Bridges; more likely to carry their Names to Eternity, than Churches or other pious Foundations, apter to have their conveniency queſtioned by Covetous and ungrateful Poſterity; ſince earthly Paths are more trodden and better indulged, than thoſe leading to Heaven: Nothing being likely to continue long, that is able to bear the Charge of its own Ruin. Therefore thoſe that accumulated theſe rich Donations, on the Church and Seminaries of Learning, inſtead of perpetuating their own Fame, laid a Foundation for the Ruin of that, they only intended to preſerve: It being unpoſſible that any humane inſtitution ſhould continue without ſo much ſhew of Corruption (eſpecially, if rich and ſplendid) as may give a pretence for the rapine of thoſe, who being inapprehenſive of the ſenſe of Honour and Religion, are inſtigated by Avarice, or a preſent neceſſity. This makes me, though with trembling, preſage, that the ruin of Chriſtianity in *Europe* is not very far off; becauſe the greateſt Revenues of the Catholick Church are looked upon with more envy than Religion; which once proclaimed cor-

corrupted, or unneceſſary, ſhe lies open to the plunder of all. Upon which conſideration, the Pope hath not done imprudently to gather a Church in *America*, whither he may one day be forced to retire, whoſe Zeal is likelier to be hotter than the Europeans, that have had theirs cooled with the Winds of ſo many contrary Doctrines. Thus doth Religion run from one Meridian to another, thriving beſt at firſt; for after a long abode, ſhe ſo far ſharpens and refines the Spirits of men, as they are able to diſcover ſuch Abuſes and Errours, as may afford them a pretence to cut her own throat for what ſhe poſſeſſes: when, God knows it is not the Doctrine that is changed, but their Apprehenſions; for if the heat of Zeal be miſimployed, which is able to concoct any opinions into the nouriſhment of Religion, all things after will prove flat and nauſeous. This might tempt *Mahomet* to ſtuff his Alcoran with ſuch high and myſtical Expreſſions, to buſie and amuſe ſuch as can taſte no Doctrine but what may bite the Conſcience and perplex the Underſtanding.

36. THough it be natural for Founders of Nations to enlarge their Confines to the fartheſt extent, Prudence or Power is able to ſtretch them; I find the Inſtitutes of none ſuit better with ſuch a deſign, than thoſe *Mahomet* and his more immediate Succeſſors have followed: Yet to ſpare my own memory, no leſs than theirs (if any be) that will venture ſuch a Jewel as Time, in the ſurveying and purchaſe of ſo wild a field of Obſervations; I ſhall fix upon Three things they chiefly labour to promote: Out of which it will not only be eaſy to extract their Firſt Principles, but deduce the ſubſequent Materials imployed in the edification of this vaſt Body, whoſe ſtride though it extends not ſo far as *Spain*, yet it is more compact, and in that better able to remove without danger of falling, any blocks that neighbour Princes may, out of jealouſie caſt in the way of its felicity, not to be parallell'd

in any part of the World, with which Profit or Curioſity hath made us familiar.

37. The firſt lies in Obedience; which, being divided between Religion and Empire, asketh the more prudence to prevent danger; leſt ſuch as pretend to be the ſole Heirs of God, do not cozen the Prince of his Birthright, under a popular diſcovery of a too rough hand in Government, or errour in divine Worſhip, in which the poor claim no leſs ample a ſhare than the rich; all being noted to fight with the greater animoſity for the world to come, the leſs they find themſelves poſſeſt of in this: it appearing to them unſuitable with the Goodneſs and Juſtice of a Supream power, that the Creature ſhould not ſomewhere meet with Felicity. And to prevent all ſiniſter miſpriſions incident to the Religion of the Prince (the gap with which the Babes of Rebellion and Novelty are pampered) though the Eccleſiaſtical and Civil Powers be both radically in the Grand Seignior, yet the pontifical Mufty hath ſtudied the Art to make the people believe, theſe two Streams do flow, one from a leſs, and the other from a more Sanctified fountain: By which is gained this huge advantage, that the Emperor hath all he diſlikes, condemned as it were out of the mouth of God, no leſs than what he likes, approved; It being upon no ſlighter penalty than death, to refuſe to acquieſce in any Senſe, this Holy man puts upon the Alcoran: nor can the Interpretation, State-reaſon requires this day, perplex one quite contrary, the next, if it may be more uſeful; becauſe nothing is regiſtred but what reſpects men; things relating to God being left free to the diſpoſure of the Prince, who by the lips of the Mufty directs the knowledge of the people; himſelf like a Weather-cock pointing only that way which the breath of Policy blows, the Inferior ſort of Prieſts in the mean while ſcreaming like Lapwings in the ears of the Rabble, leſt they ſhould obſerve the proceedings of the Court, which is the Neſt wherein all their Grievances (as they call them) are hatched.

38. Now

38. Now, concerning Obedience in things meerly civil, though the hand of Prieſthood be not out in all emergent caſes, yet the Subject having no Vote in the propoſal or conſent to Laws, all being ſolely at the will of the Prince, they have nothing but Patience to fly to, in the higheſt exactions he is pleaſed to impoſe; no Inſtrument appearing of any mutual Compact betwixt Him and the People, ſo as Life and Eſtate are meerly arbitrary; better endured, becauſe the Crown being Heir to all men, none can be made poorer than they were born; it being the nature of all, to eſteem higheſt of their Birth-right, a Term here not underſtood.

39. The ſecond thing promoted, is an impartial Parity throughout all his Dominions, in relation to every thing but Deſert, none appearing higher or lower than the reſt, but according to the Place he fills in the State; all Offices remaining wholly in the diſpoſure of the Emperour: This removes the Subjects eyes from the Grandees, who might elſe be tempted to Faction, and fixed them upon the Throne as their natural Object, and moſt auſpicious to their Fortunes. Thus are the Rich humbled into Thraldom out of Fear, and the reſt out of Hope; two Reins, which whoſoever hath the art to handle, may guide the world whither he pleaſe: This keeps the *Turks* caſte from Rebellion, either out of ſcorn to follow one of no more noble extraction than themſelves, or through the baſeneſs bred in them by receiving Injuries, not only from the legal Magiſtrate, but the Souldier, whoſe Authority lies in his Sword, which the common people have as little warrant to wear, as skill to uſe; yet like the Head-Prentice they execute the ſame Tyranny upon Strangers, their Maſters are pleaſed to exerciſe over them; where terrour is augmented, becauſe puniſhments are not confin'd either by Law or Cuſtom, tho' they oftner exceed than fall ſhort of the merit of the cauſe. And here it cannot be obſerved without a ſerious reflection upon the force Imagination borrows from

the religious reverence they bear to their Prince; that ſuch as will contemn all dangers in this defence, are rarely found (till of late) in Arms againſt him, though provoked by the moſt heavy oppreſſions. Thus we ſee how far they may err, that make ſucceſs the Touch-ſtone of the truth of a Profeſſion, or the Peace it brings to a Nation, or the owners Conſcience; and experience can produce millions of examples, that men only ſteeled with erroneous opinions have been no leſs daring upon Fire and Sword, than thoſe marching under the Target of Truth.

40. The third thing is Fortitude; endowed ſo richly by no Nation as the *Turks*, whoſe Emperour placeth all Offices in the Van of brave Actions; whilſt his Prieſts and Prophets are no leſs diligent in muſtering up the joys of Heaven in the Rear: And for Cowards they have not only Poverty and Reproach attending them in this World, but Hell and Damnation in the next. Thus by baiting all the ends of his Militia, he doth not only catch the covetous and ambitious, but thoſe attached with the invincible humours of ſuperſtition and melancholy; by which, like Oxen, they are rendred not only fit, but willing to endure both labour and ſlaughter. Thus Fantaſie but a weak ſhell in it ſelf, yet if filled with Sulphurous zeal, and the opinion of truth, and future happineſs, confounds not only all that dare appear in oppoſition of it, but the very deſign (if capable of ſo much prudence and moderation as to project one) that ſhe intended to promote. Therefore ſuch as conſider, how far the *Turks* Conqueſts are indulged by their Religion, have more cauſe to wonder, they are not Maſters of the whole World, than that they enjoy ſuch a proportion thereof, as they do; where the Siſters and Daughters, of the Emperour's own blood, are often given in marriage to reward that which was bravely ventur'd by the meaneſt Souldier; whoſe Iſſue by Cuſtom can challenge no higher place in their Uncles or Grandſires favour, than they are able to purchaſe by their own Deſert,

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he owning none for Kindred, beyond ſuch as are allied to Vertue, Wiſdom, or ſome other quality that may render them uſeful to the State: Unlike the practice of *Germany*, where ten or more bear the Title of one Principality, having nothing to feed on but the air of Honour, looking like ſolitary and demoliſhed Caſtles quite deſtitute of Strength or Territory, the name of the place being only left to uphold them.

41. In the purſuit of their Fortitude, I ſhall ſay ſomething more of their proceedings in War: and firſt of Eunuchs, by many thought leſs propenſe to valour, and therefore poſſibly to be noted in the *Turks* as a blemiſh, by ſuch as do not wearily obſerve, that Caution, and Circumſpection are no leſs, if not more, neceſſary in the General, and oftentimes harder to be met with, than Daring and undaunted Reſolution in the Souldier; it being one thing to execute, another to direct, Therefore the Grand Seignior doth not ſeldom make Eunuchs Commanders in Chief, never Common Souldiers; the Fear, which is neceſſary in the firſt, being deſtructive in the latter; more Armies having periſhed for want of Moderation, than Valour, in the Head: Beſides, their incapacity of Children gives ſuch caution for their Fidelity, as cannot be expected from one more virile; a perfect man being in a condition to gain honour and profit by the Change of Government, whereas one ſo mutilated is capable of little more than ſhame and loſs. And becauſe it is unlikely to cut the throat of this Empire with any Sword but her own, ſuch are imployed with moſt diſcretion in theſe high places, as are leaſt apt to rebel.

42. The *Janizaries*, on whom they fix the belief of Victory, are by a primitive Inſtitution prohibited Marriage; yet leſt this ſhould make a gap in their felicity, the Wives, and Daughters of the leſs uſeful, eſpecially thoſe their Sword hath ſubdued, are without queſtion ſubject to their deſires. This wings their obedience in the performance of Commands, though pointing at never ſo remote Employments. For quite

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unshaked from the magnetical force of an affection to Wife and Children, by use made natural (which chains Christians, like fond Apes, to their own doors) every place is fancied their proper sphere; because it cannot afford courser Meat, harder Lodging, or severer Discipline, than they have at home: Neither doth the want of Wives raise such cries as are made by the Relicts and Children of slain Souldiers; the appeasing of which swells in other Nations to little less than would pay a small Army: This Emperour being Heir as well to the Lives as Estates of his Subjects.

43. They seldom grant Quarter till all is subdued: By this they prevent fighting twice with the same Adversary. Neither are they forward to exchange Prisoners, lest in their abode with the Enemy, their affections should be warped towards any more moderate discipline, observable in those they oppose: And out of the like Jealousie they seldom continue War long with the same Nation; Change not only preventing all Contagion, that may arise from Commerce with worse ordered People, but affording the Souldier at least a seeming delight, in variety. And in farther relation to Quarter, a Prince rich in Subjects doth rather spoil than mend his Market by such kind of bartering, by rendring Enemies the bolder, as being readier to dispense with the danger of Imprisonment than Death: Neither are any miraculous effects of Despair much to be feared, where there is room enough left to evade: This humour being as single and rare, as the *Phœnix*, and not to be generated but out of the ashes of hope. And he that considers, that the *Turk* is not of so poor an alloy, as some Princes, which are undone by a Victory, if it costs too dear, may see his design in a great part satisfied by the Employment and loss of his Souldiers; the too great encrease of such Spirits being all he hath reason to fear. This makes War (an Art in other places) an absolute Nature and necessity here.

44. He is not yet so fond of Honour, as to lay out his endeavours in the purchase of places not able to pay for

for their own Chains; A charge the Catholick King is never like to abate ſo long as he is Maſter of *Naples*, *Milan*, &c. that coſt more to keep, than the profit made of them can compenſe; tho like may be yet ſaid of *Ireland*, &c.

45. Their Ordnance, found the largeſt in the known World, are carried into the field in the Common Souldiers Pockets.

46. The general Food of the *Turks*, both in City and Camp, is Rice and Water; their moſt dainty addition being but a Hen, or ſome ſmall lump of Fleſh. This makes them purſue victory over deſolate places, and ſtarve ſuch Armies as preſume to follow them, who are as certainly overwhelmed with an Ocean of Neceſſities, as the *Ægyptians* were by the Red Sea.

47. Their Expeditions are not ordinarily undertaken, but in Summer; By which many great dangers are prevented, leſs adviſed Princes do daily cope withal, in meeting with Contingences that ariſe from Want and bad Weather, harder to be vanquiſhed than the Enemy himſelf. For though their numbers be great, yet the little Uſe hath taught them to be content withal, is eaſier met with at that Seaſon, and renders them ſo impregnable againſt what we call Fortune, as ſhe may poſſibly bend her Bow, but is not able to diſtreſs them by the ſtrongeſt Arrows her Quiver affords. Beſides the Eccho the Report of the Emperor's ſtrength makes in the hollow hearts, thoſe Princes, it concerns, carry one to the other, is not only Harbinger, but in a great part, Operator of his Victories; when Chriſtians march but with part of their ſtrength, leaving the reſt tofollow in the nature of a Reſerve,(as if there were hope a paucity ſhould prevail when the groſs is beaten, who, if joining, might poſſibly have warranted Succeſs) and do by this not only leſſen the Repute of their Power (of no ſmall conſequence in the Art of War) but diſcourage any other from joyning with them, who upon the ſound of an invincible Army, would prick up their Ears.

48. If

48. If a Shock be given to the Emperour's Forces, he ſtays not long enough in that place to receive another, but returns home without tempting his Fortune further that Summer; Wiſely concluding it much unlikely (as in truth it is) for a diſheartned Army to perform what ſhe could not bring about when the Soldier was in full plight. Neither can the certain cauſe of an Overthrow be eaſily penetrated into; and till that be throughly ſurveyed, no Prince may in diſcretion hazard the change of a ſecond Battle, though the Commanders appear never ſo confident of good ſucceſs; it ſuiting with their Intereſt both in honour and ſafety, to venture all, rather than come out of the Field with ſo great a reproach; Conſiderations below a Superlative power, to whom Security ought to be more dear, than any thing that carries the countenance of greater loſs than gain, It not being impoſſible but that the former diſgrace might ariſe from ſome Treachery in the Principal Officers; Therefore it is good Policy to examine every Card in the Pack, before the dealing of a new Game, eſpecially upon a fluſhed party: Yet with this caution, that many things muſt be put to the venture by the Founder of an Empire, which ſuit not with the Prudence of one already eſtabliſhed; For Repute far more neceſſary than Safety to the firſt, is below it many degrees in the ſecond: ſince he that holds but part of a Cudgel in his hand, may retreat in quiet, but he that hath quite loſt it ſhall be bit by the ſame dogs that gave way to, or fawned upon him before his force was ſpent.

49. The Grand Seignior (after augmentation of the Empire) is in nothing more ſtudious than of means to Employ the ſuperfluous quantity of Soldiers, his vaſt eſtate produceth. By this making thoſe inſtrumental to the propagation of honour and dominion, that in ſuch narrow yet fruitful Cock-pits as *England*, breed nothing but Sedition; and for want of eaſe and plenty, ſtrive like *Jacob* and his Brother for more room; it being poſſible for evil Government to convert the bleſſing

bleſſing of Increaſe and Multiply into as heavy a curſe, as ever yet fell from the mouth of God: therefore a too zealous proſecution of Peace (which ſome Princes, not unwiſe in their ſingle Judgment called King-Craft) is no leſs vain, than deſtructive Art; and ſo unſuitable to the good and ſafety of any Government, that it hatcheth Plagues, or which is more contagious to a State, Civil War: Neither can this Pleuriſie be eaſier cured, or the Spirits of Rebellion better evaporated, than by opening the peoples veins in ſome Foreign Imployment.

50. The *Turkey* Cavalrie are ſeldom in evil plight, becauſe their Horſes are ſtill under the owners eye, who for the moſt part do ſerve upon them, and have to that end, large Proportions of Land allowed them, with other Immunities not common to the people, to whom they are both a Curb and a Protection; And between theſe and the Foot ſuch a feud is bred, either by Cuſtom, Nature, or Art, that it is reported, the Horſe will (if unprevented) burn their Litter, leſt the Infantry ſhould imploy it to their better accommodation: Now though this may look like a prejudice in the Field, it ſecures all fear of Combination at home. Neither is it a ſlight addition to ſecurity, that the greateſt part of this Militia conſiſts of ſuch as were ſelected out of Children, paid for Tribute by conquered Nations, who compoſed of ſeveral airs, cannot aſſociate with that eaſe as Armies made up of one Language; which like the *Swiſs*, do not ſeldom call for *Ghelt* when they have the Enemy in view.

51. Their ſtrength lies in the Field, and not in Fortreſſes, looked upon as nurſeries of Rebellion, eſpecially in ſo abſolute a Tyranny, where it is more common for the Emperor to ſend for the Head of a Baſhaw, than to be denyed; A power that would be buried in ſtronger Holds, out of which few would come to ſuch entertainment, as is given to the Grandees upon the leaſt invitation of Jealouſie. Not to beat more upon this Argument, long ſince driven up to the head by the

the beſt of Judgments, *That fortified places ſuit the affairs of weak Princes, better than thoſe of greater ſtrength*, &c. he that hath men in abundance needs them no more, than thoſe of narrower confines, and leſs populous are able to ſubſiſt without them.

52. They make not Religion the Cauſe, or at leaſt proclaim it not for the principal Motto of a War; which wakens the attentions and invokes the aſſiſtance of all the contrary Profeſſion; the pooreſt man taking himſelf ſo far intereſted in the Vindication of his Faith, that if he hath nothing elſe to venture, he will account it ſacriledge to deny his life: But no ſound of that being heard, the voice of hope and fear drowns that of danger and concernment, in the prejudice and hatred they bear to their Neighbours; Fathering all misfortune that falls to them upon divine vengeance, in oppoſition of which they dare not engage; no more than moſt Princes are willing to part with their Gold till it is too late; like the wretched Inhabitants of *Conſtantinople*, who choſe rather to loſe all in an entire ſumm, than to break it for the preſervation of themſelves and their Country. And if any thing could have tempted Chriſtians to the reſcue of their own intereſt in the Cuſtody of others, it would have been then, when this Imperial City was in ſuch danger. But the Moderation of *Caſar*'s power was ſo grateful a Spectacle for the preſent, as it dazled their Apprehenſions in relation to any future inconveniences; yet when this Key of *Europe* was loſt, thoſe that before were quiet, if not contented Spectators, began to miſtruſt their own doors, and bewail their ignorance, in not foreſeeing that the Effects of ſuch a Neighbourhood was not ſo eaſily to be reſiſted, as the Siege (which was the cauſe) might have been raiſed, had there been a cordial conjunction amongſt thoſe tied in policy to have kept him farther off. Thus by preſuming more on the ſtrength of others, than there is cauſe for, moſt States at laſt come to be diſtreſſed themſelves.

53. Their

53. Their Militia is obſerved to be more daring in their Chriſtian Expeditions, than thoſe undertaken againſt the *Perſian*; a People looked upon as too near of kin to them in Religion, to warrant their Murdering: The ſame ſin committed by Princes in groſs, which private perſons do by retail, yet are puniſhed for it in this World, where the other are commended; though the People I deſcribe are too wiſe and affectionate towards the more ſubſtantial part of their Creed, to proſecute thoſe of their own profeſſion to the fartheſt extent of their power, out of no more ſerious conſideration, than whether their own, or the *Perſian* Prieſts delude the People with the greateſt ſhew of Truth, eſpecially both owning one and the ſame ſupream Juggler, *Mahomet*. In this exceeding the prudence, if not the piety of Chriſtians, who make the Sword an Umpire in the ſmalleſt differences of Opinion; as if ſucceſs, (found as great an aſſertor of the deſigns of theſe Infidels, as ever it hath yet appeared in the favour of Saints) could be able to bear ſo great a ſtreſs, as the weight of Religion, on which depends Salvation, not poſſibly to be brought about by the wicked Engines, daily employed by Princes and Men in power, to keep Victory faſtned to their Tent-doors: It being Sufferings, not the Valour of our Champion Chriſt, that can enrol us in the Heavenly Hoſt: For though we dare not give ſucceſs to Fortune, any more than we are able to wreſt her out of the hand of God; yet we find by experience, that the Wheels of her Chariot are too weak, dirty, and unſteady, for Truth to triumph in, much leſs to be made captive to any others Interpretation than her own.

54. And though the paint of Religion is the ordinary Charm that raiſeth the impetuous ſpirits of the People into ſtorms (by which they can ſooner deſtroy others than ſave themſelves; no reparations being to be procured but out of their own purſes, who may far eaſier change their Maſters, than find better) yet is Blood very unſuitable to the taſte of true Religion, which

which participates more of the Lamb, than the Lion, having been ever readier to ſuffer wrong, than do it, till the Prieſts of old, as ſome think, firſt, for the Princes ſake, and after for their own, had not only taught her the Art of Jugling, but made her ſo tetchy, by the corroding Doctrines they inſtill'd into mens conſciences, upon the leaſt Worldly occaſion, that brought their Honour or Profit under queſtion; far repugnant to the firſt intent of Religion, which was to ſet a bar againſt ſtrife, and all other unnatural deſires, men, without the awe of God, are apt to fall into; Oppreſſion being a general miſchief, all are liable to, either in childhood or old age: This brought Government into uſe among ſuch as had felt the heavy experiment of Anarchy; to avoid which nothing contributes more than Unity in Religion, and where that cannot be compaſſed without much ſtrife, a Liberty to profeſs what opinions men pleaſe, provided they be not repugnant to the general welfare..

55. Wherefore *Mahomet* and his ſucceſſors, the better to gain the love of the people to Religion, tempered it with ſo much moderation, as it rather inclines to Hope than Fear; wiſely foreſeeing, that nothing makes Subjects recoil more from their Obedience, than when they are loaded with a conceit that their Governors lead them in the way to Hell. This gives me occaſion to think, that the Goblings armed by the Catholicks with ſo much terrour, may poſſibly like the Elephants of *Pyrrhus* fall foul upon themſelves, and bring their Religion into a low contempt, through an apparent detection, or a panick fear; not ſo likely to attach the Creed of the *Turks*, who have no painting to communicate any thing ſubject to gather ſo much droſs, as might inform the people, they are but the effects of humane Art, nor Prieſts that dare be ſo bold as to put a greater Exciſe upon the Sins of the people, or the price of Heaven, than ſtands with the conveniency or Reaſon of State. Thus are the Turkiſh Soldiers bred in no leſs obedience than Valour, which

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are indeed the moſt ſaving Articles of their Belief, and though undervalued by us, that expect after death a leſs carnal Heaven; yet nothing cauſeth their Unity more, or is a greater provocation to augmentation of Empire, than the conformity held by their Prieſts in the inculcation of their Doctrine, nor perplexing their Conſciences with uſeleſs terrors or hard queſtions; making no Sins ſo damnable as Cowardice and Diſobedience to the Commands of their Leaders; Eyeing Chriſtians with a high diſdain, for caſting ſo many doubts, and buſhing the way to Heaven with Purgatory and other Bugbears, which they place in the dark Entry, all are to paſs between this World and the next: Though a blind man may ſee, it is not conſonant either to the belief of Prince or Prieſt: And theſe Chimera's are thought by the *Mahometans*, to intimidate Souldiers by making them Atheiſts, and ſo in hope of no better; or ſuperſtitious, which keeps them ſtill in expectation of a worſe: This people being no leſs hardened with Diſcipline, againſt the pleaſures of this, than aſſured by Doctrine, they ſhall enjoy the ſame and greater in the World to come: according to an ordinary ſaying among them: That if Chriſtians carryed the ſame opinions concerning Heaven in their Hearts, as are every where found in their Books, they would not be ſo afraid of Death, the only way thither.

56. The *Turks* eſteem Fate inexorable; which ſteels their Foreheads no leſs againſt the ſharpeſt danger, than it ſmooths them towards the ſevereſt Diſcipline; yet in the midſt of this belief, admit a neceſſary uſe of Prayer: As if importunity could be any way prevalent where an unchangeable Reſolution is acknowledged. It cannot be denied, there is a wide room left for giving thanks, and praiſing God for diſpoſing things ſo much to our advantage; but this perhaps cannot ſo ſeaſonably be done till his Will be revealed.

57. Images, reverenced in Chriſtian Churches, bar the doors againſt both *Turk* and *Jew*; who count us worſe than Canibals for eating our God, as they ſay

we do in the Euchariſt: a ſcandal we owe to the Court of *Rome*.

58. Notwithſtanding the incomparable ſtrength of this Lion, you may find all his Treaties lined with the fur of a Fox, not tying himſelf up ſo ſtraight by Promiſe or Obligation, but that he hath ſtill a nuſe open to break through upon any great advantage: And in this he is not a little beholding to the manner of his Stile, always fuller of Hyperbolical Civilities than real Aſſurances; yet rather than leave his Repute under the reproach of a broken Faith, he lays the fault upon the miſtake of ſome Miniſter of State, by whoſe blood he expungeth all ſtains of Diſhonour, not leaving them legible by any of his own, but ſuch as have learned to decypher the Character of Princes, who are but few in this well compoſed Government, and thoſe comfortably employed in publick ſervice, or decently laid by, for prevention of miſchief: It remaining paſt peradventure, *That ſuch as have Heads apt for Counſel, may upon a Diſcontent find Hearts as apt for Rebellion.*

59. Though this Monarch, if he ſtands right in his Subjects eſteem, is not very ſolicitous after Repute from Strangers; yet by reaſon of his vaſt Power, he is not often neceſſitated to tread ſuch baſe paths, as our weaker Princes are forced to walk in, that have for the moſt part nothing but Shifts to ſubſiſt by; which like Mines under the walls of Towns, bring more prejudice than gain, if they come to be diſcovered by the contrary party; from which it is not eaſie to conceal them, if once they are flown out of the boſom that hatched them, ſuch folly and falſhood is bound up in the hearts of Embaſſdors. Beſides the frequent perjury of Princes hath ſo vilified the price of Oaths, as they ſerve for little more than Ceremony of State, and to bait traps for their poor Subjects, and other weak and ill adviſed Strangers. Which may give an occaſion for an Enquiry, that ſince all men cannot agree, Whether a Toleration of their ſeveral Religions may

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not be with more Charity admitted, than every one perſecuted, as we find they are in one place or other? And becauſe one God is univerſally owned, all Proteſtations ſhould be taken under that ſingle name, without any other addition; many bearing an awful reverence to That, who look upon the reſt as products of Policy, and therefore leave room for ſuch mental reſervations as the Prieſts, no leſs than the Grandees have too long abuſed the World withal. And till a reverence, ſtill begun at the Head, be real, or unapprehenſibly feigned, it is folly to expect performance of Oaths in the Members. This arraigns all Princes of madneſs, that reſt ſecure upon the Fidelity of their Subjects, after they have forfeited their own by illegal and exorbitant Taxes. Nor is Perjury found ſo frequently amongſt thoſe eſteemed Infidels, as our dry Profeſſors, that have Religion ſtill in their mouths, and the Bible in their Eye; Not that a practice of holy Duties can poſſibly be more the reaſon of Falſhood in the one, than Profaneneſs of Truth in the other; But having made themſelves more familiar with the Mercy, than Juſtice of God, and preſuming upon the certainty of their own Salvation, and Damnation of others, for which they have no better warrant than the voice of a Spirit, conjured up only in their Imaginations; the more to be ſuſpected, becauſe it befriends no other intereſt but their own, they think to make God amends ſome other way; whereas a poor Sinner, that hath once been hunted home with the fierce conflicts of a wearied Conſcience (ſharper far than the Humiliations, theſe outward Profeſſors proportion to themſelves) dares not venture on ſo dear an Impiety, out of hope to digeſt it the next Faſt. And if I am not much miſtaken, the *Turks* bear a more awful reverence to Oaths, than Chriſtians; nor are they found to alloy it with the poyſonous mixture of Æquivocation, though the *Jews* that live among them are more indifferent what they atteſt. A ſad thing that ſuch as were formerly, and thoſe that are now the people of

God, ſhould exceed Infidels in ſo foul and unſociable an Impiety. Which that they may the better prevent; though the bare atteſtation of a Muſſulman, or Turkiſh Believer is often taken for an authentick Proof againſt a Stranger; Yet in their ordinary Tryals between one another, they proceed with more Caution, ſo as not to rely upon Oaths themſelves; but from private Examinations, and Queſtions, ſo unexpected and artificially put, as no premeditated Combination can evade, they extract grounds for Sentence: By which, malice is defeated, and perjury prevented, frequent amongſt us, where the Lives and Eſtates of a conſcientious people are without remedy expoſed to their mercy, who ſcruple not the calling God to the witneſs of a Lie. Nor can there be imagined any better way how to avoid this miſchief, or yield a ſincere and faithful Obedience to the precept of our Saviour, *Swear not at all*, &c. (Which the corrupt Gloſs of Expoſitors labour much, though all in vain, to elude) than, if, inſtead of that ſlight and irreverent manner of Swearing, or rather proſtituting the Word of God to the kiſs of impure lips, according to the looſe cuſtom of all our Courts of Judicature, the Judges themſelves, or thoſe appointed for that purpoſe, would take the pains, by the touch-ſtone of a diligent ſcrutiny, and ſcrupulous examination of Witneſſes apart to diſtinguiſh the pure and golden Truth, from the baſer Alchymy of the moſt cunningly forged Falſhood.

60. They prefer Chriſtianity ſo far, *as no* Jew *can turn* Turk *till he hath been Chriſtened:* The vulgar thinking God beſt pleaſed with ſuch a gradation, tho' Authority interjected this Ceremony to fence them againſt a too great concourſe of the ſubtile people, who in relation to Circumciſion, are apter to embrace their Religion than ours; and do by their Converſion leſſen the profit ariſing from them as *Jews*. Now leſt the Impiety of caſting blocks in the way of Proſelytes ſhould ſeem to relate only to this ſo much abominated Nation, I deſire to be informed, if there be not a Law in force here,

here, at the *Jews* being in *England*, as there is ſtill in ſome other Nations, *That ſuch of them as turned Chriſtians, ſhould loſe all, or the greateſt part of what they had.* For which this pious reaſon was given, That many remained *Jews* ſtill in their hearts, notwithſtanding an outward profeſſion: Thus a greater Hypocriſie cheatted the leſs.

61. I find them, though conſtant to their own, yet ſo indulgent to the opinions of Strangers, as to afford ſuch a ſafe paſs among them: which, beſides the profit it brings to Commerce, keeps them in ſo moderate a temper, as the plague of Hypocriſie (which like an Iron-mole, ſtains, and in ſhort time eats out the purity of Religion, by acting a ſublimer impiety than the nature of man, unſuborned through Ambition or Covetouſneſs, is able to make real, longer than a Fanatick heat inſpires it) hath not yet there broke out farther than among ſome few particulars; though by ſuch the Cockatrice of Civil War is ordinarily diſcloſed in the Boſoms of Chriſtians, concluding all damned which reſt not in their Expoſitions and Cuſtoms, how ridiculous ſoever: Not conſidering the miſchief they do, that remove old uncertain Errours, before they have found as certain Truth to put in their room. The ſame may be ſaid of reputed inconveniences; ſuch as is their conniving at Courteſans (chiefly done to prevent Adultery, Sodomy, and Beſtiality; ſins infeſting theſe hot Countrys therefore) poſſibly leſs abominable, than ſome Divines make it. This ſort of Cattle being as ancient as the Patriarch *Judah*: Neither did divers others, looked upon as men after Gods own heart, bluſh to keep droves of them: Nay, if ſome be not foully out in their Expoſitions, they are reckoned to *David* in the Bill of God's Bleſſings: And he that doth by this publick ſin, as ſome have done by Religion, exchange it for a worſe (though perhaps more ſolitary) I pray what hath the Nation left to brag of? Faults of greater privacy, though leſs natural, increaſing Hypocrites more than Saints. And if our Bleſſed

Saviour ſhould now ſpeak to the Conſciences of men, as he did to the *Jews*, *He that is without ſin*, &c. I believe Fornication would eſcape, whatever became of Adultery. To conclude this point, it is ſo much the greater boldneſs, to add to, than diminiſh from the ſeverity of God, as we ſtand more in need of his Mercy than Juſtice.

62. The groſs of their Revenue is imployed in ſecuring the Empire at home, or fetching Victory from abroad: The Grand Signior being only luxurious in Women, and domeſtick pleaſures; which like Fontinels in the body, may poſſibly evaporate worſe humours than they foment: Though contrary to the better inculcated, than practiſed Doctrine of our Theologues, eſpecially thoſe of the Church of *Rome*; Catholick Kings rather conniving at this miſchief, than the perpetual inconveniences reſulting from a married Clergy, who by giving their Children better breeding than Eſtates, are the cauſe they do not ſeldom fall into exorbitances.

63. REpute hath ſwell'd the Sultan's power to ſuch a vaſt Monſtroſity, and ſo far dazled the eyes of Chriſtian Princes, weakned by diviſions in Religion, that they dare not look upon him without a Preſent: Neither is the *Perſian* much bolder, which gives him the advantage, no leſs than Honour to be ſtill on the offenſive: And in this the generoſity he uſeth, to divulge the Prince, if not the place he meaneth next to attach, turns more to his advantage, than may appear to every eye; other Nations reſting ſo ſecure upon this, as they do not provide, if at all, a defence proportionable to the danger; which if once made ready, could not be laid out to a more probable advantage for themſelves and Criſtendom, than in ſtopping the Progreſs of this Polyphemus, who is likely, if not prevented by ſome Civil Rupture, to devour all the *Italian* principalities, if once he raviſh the *Venetian*, whoſe hands have been weakned by the longeſt War, that

that ever any ſingle State maintained againſt this Monſter; who for want of aſſiſtance, cannot chuſe but ſhortly yield up *Candy* to his Luſt: And then our drowſie Princes, who were no more affected with her Cries, than weakned by the noiſe of her Cannon, and the voice of Prudence daily roaring in their ears, ſhall lament their Errour, and curſe themſelves, and the Council that moved them to obſerve this unnatural Neutrality, and to prefer a little pleaſure they take in gratifying the envy they have ever born to this more magnificent Republick (tied by all reaſon to maintain the ſmaller States of *Italy* in being) before the aſſuring of their fears by a cordial combining againſt this common enemy, of whoſe mercy they can have no hope: Nothing being more ſuitable to his former procedure, or future ſecurity than utterly to eradicate them, long looked upon by him as the only Obſtructers of his farther progreſs into Chriſtendom. Though apparently known, that what the *Venetians* do is rather by the ſtrength of their Heads than Hands, having not yet made themſelves very famous for Valour, participating not ſo much of the Lyon, as Fox, with whoſe Skin moſt of their Atchievments are found to be lined; being themſelves, if fools in any thing, in the exceſſive awe they ſtand of Death, the cauſe they imploy Strangers. Neither is it a leſs wonder, that *France*, *Spain*, and other potent Nations do daily paſs by greater Affronts received from the Ottoman Empire, without the leaſt notice taken, than they are obſerved to fight for among themſelves; as if nothing could be diſhonourable or unſafe, but what ariſeth from the injuries of men of the ſame Religion; an argument of as great Imprudence, as Impiety, eſpecially reſulting from the Omiſſion, if not Commiſſion of the Court of *Rome:* For did the Jeſuits and other active Prieſts turn the tide of their Policy (which hath already immerged *Europe* in blood) towards the *Turks*, they might ſoon be over-flown by a great deluge of Schiſms, as we are now plunged in: But for fear of loſing the Bird

in hand, makes the Pope unwilling to imploy his Engines for the taking of this: Not conſidering that the Mahometan Profeſſion is grown up to as high an earthly Felicity, Univerſality, and Conſent, as the Papacy; Neither do they want as great an Antiquity for ſome of their Tenets, the which if they once come to be waſhed over by the varniſh of Learning, the Mufty may, aſſiſted by his Maſters force turn his Holineſs out of *Rome*, as that Biſhop did the Emperours; and ſo avenge *Europe* and *Aſia* both, for the rent the ſubtil Prieſts made between the Eaſt and the Weſt Churches, for no more religious reſpect than to beautifie their own Habit and increaſe their Power.

And if the Virgin City of *Venice* comes to be wholly proſtituted to the Luſt of this Monſter, who hath already intangled his Sword in one of her ſtrongeſt Locks, it is poſſible the Catholick King ſhall not be able long to enjoy thoſe Concubinary Principalities, made his by no juſter Contract than the Procuration of his Chaplain, the Pope, his own Subtilty, and the impertinent Quarrels of leſs adviſed Neighbours: But to give the Pope his due (looked upon by the dazled Eyes of our Zealots, for a more terrible Devil than it may be he is, were he confined within a narrower Circle, in relation to temporal Power) Chriſtian Princes are apt to take ſo much advantage from the harping Irons *Luther*, *Calvin*, and other Divines (perhaps better skill'd in ſubverting Errors, than reconciling of Truth) have faſtened in the ſides of this Eccleſiaſtical Leviathan, not to be kept floating in a narrower Sea than that of *Rome* (formerly as Magiſterial in things Temporal, as now ſhe remains in Spirituals, which Prudence might manage to as univerſal a Tranquility, as appear'd in the Days of *Auguſtus*) that he hath no leaſure to look abroad, for fear the ſame Spirit that troubled the Waters in *Germany*, ſhould dry up thoſe in *Italy*, &c. It being in the Power of every Prince to cut the Banks of the Church, which in *France* is the fear of Schiſm, and in the Catholick King's Dominion, the Inquiſition. Yet in caſe his Holineſs

lineſs ſhould make it a cordial endeavour to foment a League againſt the *Turk*, *France* and *Spain* would fall out who ſhould head it, and endeavour to ſpoil the others Subjects in the mean time: Such incomparable Charity reſides among Chriſtian Princes, that value Religion no higher than the profit it brings; ſo as the Roman Biſhop, with all his Emiſſaries, have full imployment by adding and taking away, to keep the Scales even, between theſe two tottering Princes, and to heighten their Spirits againſt *England* and other Nations at enmity with *Rome*; leſt we ſhould have a Great Turk of our own; that is, an Univerſal Monarch, under whoſe abſolute Power the Pope and all other Chriſtian Princes could expect no higher Places than thoſe of Vaſſals. And tho' a Combination were feaſible, ſmall advantage would accrue; ſince every conſiderable Confederate muſt have a General of their own; from whence would proceed more Cry than Wool, by perplexing Councils with contrary Commands: Becauſe if it were probable, Kings ſhould ſo far forget their Honour, as to lay down all Diſputes about precedence, yet their particular Intereſt could not but remember them, that the ſtrength deſigned againſt the *Turk*, might, after ſucceſs, recoil upon themſelves, not without a preſident in Story: And therefore not likely to imploy any other in Chief, but their own Subjects. And what contrary affection, ends, and endeavours are covered under a Force patched up of ſo many Nations, is manifeſt in the Maritime battle of *Lepanto*: where, though the deſire of all might be to Eclipſe the Ottoman Moon; yet it was in many ſo faint, as they could not endure it ſhould be removed quite out of its Sphere, or loſe the Intereſt it doth Exerciſe within the Chriſtian Pale (which by a through proſecution of that Naval Victory, might eaſily have been brought about) out of fear, the greater Princes, by that ſecured, ſhould after have made it their endeavour to devour the leſs: And this (with ſome Umbrages of Jealouſies the Catholick King had of his brother *Don John*

of

of *Auſtria*) made the Confederates return without doing more than ſhew the Grand Signior wherein he was defective, and by this chaſtizing to make him mend the fault he had committed in being no better provided of Commanders and Proviſions for Sea, which he hath ſince repaired at our coſt, by maintaining an Arcenal in *Algiers* of which the King of *Spain* denied his Brother to be Governour; ſo jealous are Chriſtians one of the other, that they have more confidence in Turks, than thoſe of their own Religion: Yet, to ſpeak God's truth, whoſoever ſhall command an Army againſt this Epidemical Enemy, with ſuch ſucceſs as *Don John* had, will be owner of too popular an Honour, to be leſs than ſuperlative wherever he comes; and therefore liable, like him to receive a Fig out of the venomous hand of Jealouſie. Which warrants me to think, the fitteſt for ſuch an imployment as the heading an Army raiſed by a League, is the Pope, who lying within Gun-ſhot himſelf, is the moſt likely to take the trueſt aim at the finiſhing of the work: But this the Lutherans and Proteſtants would oppoſe, no leſs than the Princes of *Italy*, who cannot but fear, that the power of the Ottoman Family being ſufficiently moderated, he could have no better imployment for the Army, than to face them with it, looked upon perhaps in his eſteem, as greater Enemies: Yet if there were an unity in Religion, and a total abatement of his Holineſes pretences to any ſecular Power, farther than the extent of *Peter*'s Patrimony, it might with more probability be brought about, than any temporal Prince is able to give caution for: And thus Policy might not only make uſe of him, in oppoſing the *Turk*, but in reconciling ſuch Kings, as when they are weary of their inconſiderate Quarrels, know no other way to bring about Peace, than by the mediation of the Biſhop of *Rome*. But as things now ſtand, Experience hath taught us how vain a Compoſition of Force is, in the attempt of moderating the Ottoman Grandeur: Nor is any Prince yet in a capacity to undertake him alone;

alone; The Emperour being ſhackled by the links of contrary Opinions, and now utterly diſabled ſince the *Swedes* Incurſion: I confeſs the Catholick King, upon whoſe skirts he ſits, were the moſt likely to get ground upon the *Turks* Dominions, did not the French perplex him with the fear of loſing his own: Between which Nations there can be no reconciliation, ſo long as the Popes greatneſs is ſupported by Diviſion; An Univerſal Monarchy in *Europe* being more againſt the grain of the Court of *Rome*, than it yet apprehends danger from that in *Aſia*; ſo as it is no improbable Parodox to maintain, *That the* Turk *by accident ſupports his Holineſs:* And if the Pope and Inquiſition were put down, Atheiſm would break in like a Torrent; or, which is worſe, Religion would be divided into ſuch deſtructive, bloody, and hypocritical ſtreams, as her name would be quite loſt in the dilatation, or render her Profeſſors as odious as ever they were to the heathen Emperors: eſpecially ſince ſhe hath in all places, and under every Profeſſion, learned of Ambition to lay out the price of her Salvation in a field of Blood, without reſpect had to Covenants, Oaths, Allegiance, or the moſt natural and obliging Relations, therefore formidable to Kings, whoſe ſingle and open boſoms render them a fair mark, not only to the forked Tongues, but the venomous tempered ſteel of an exaſperated Zeal; ſo not likely to be entertained in any place but where her own Sword ſhall be able to bid her welcome: The Beauty of Holineſs, with which ſhe was wont to allure Proſelytes, being now ſhrivelled into uglineſs, by her frequent application of the ſublimated paint of Hypocriſie; ſo generally obſerved among Chriſtians, as neither the *Turk*, or any other Mahometan Nation can, in Prudence, if in Piety barter their Faith for ours; The drought of whoſe Charity hath obſtructed the means of Converſion in relation to all Foreigners not formerly engaged by Birth and Education: ſo as no probability reſides in any endeavour can be uſed to tempt the *Turks* from *Mahomet* unleſs (as

(as I hinted before) ſome Jeſuit were able to perſonate his Ghoſt, and proclaim himſelf riſen, according to their Prophet's long delay'd promiſe: for ſuch an one might poſſibly prevail ſo far upon the Rabble, as to make them fall foul among themſelves: A breach in Religion being found by experience the readieſt way to let in that Ocean of Calamities, we ſee overflows the Kingdoms of the Earth.

Another Expedient may lie in ſupporting ſuch Cedars of State, as are marked out for ruin by the fears or fury of the Prince, and if poſſible to give ſhelter to ſome of the younger Royal Branches, who are ſure upon their Fathers death to be ſacrificed to the ſecurity of the Elder; and may, as occaſion ſerves, facilitate a Rebellion, by landing an Army able to make good the field, whiſt the Snow-ball is gathering: A project moſt convenient for the wiſdom and Situation of *Venice*, were ſhe owner of the Power and extent of Territory belonging to old *Rome*, whoſe Heir ſhe deſerves beſt to be, ſince ſhe alone retains more of her Freedom than all the known World beſides is able to produce: Her government being built on ſuch rational, if not infallible Maxims, as might bear the weight of a far greater frame, if *Italy* were wiſe enough to ſee it; who need not be concubinary to ſo many wanton deſires of Strangers, would all her ſmall and new hatched Governments ſhelter themſelves under her Wings, who are known to ſpend more ſeverally in hiring of Peace from the *Turk*, *Spaniard*, *Pope*, &c. than wiſely laid out in an intire ſum, would purchaſe the power to command it.

From whence may be concluded, if the Grand Signior do not fall through his own weight, he may live to ſee *Europe* under as great a thraldom in every relation to body and ſoul, as *Turkey*, unleſs he be cordially oppoſed at his own door: Tyrants, like Dogs, having their fierceneſs rather whetted than rebated by a defenſive oppoſition: whereas he that breaks reſolutely in upon them, makes them not ſeldom take their heels;

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All changes in ſuch an extremity being looked upon with delight and affection at home, by thoſe that abroad would dye to extend the ſame Government over others: Oppreſſion being ſo odious to Subjects, as all will upon any probable advantage promote its deſtruction to the very perſons that ſhare in their deſires with the Monarch, wanting the power more than the will to perpetrate the like degree of injuſtice themſelves.

64. The *Turk* deduceth this Doctrine out of the perfidiouſneſs of the Chriſtian Practice, That it is to little purpoſe (by reaſon of the contrary pretences) to make Leagues Offenſive and Defenſive, which he hath ſeldom done; yet conſiders his Neighbours dangers as his own, before delay hath rendred them incurable; Apparent in the large offers he made to *Venice*, whilſt ſhe lay under the Interdict of *Paul* the fifth; and might, if her Subjects had not been wiſer, through Civil Diviſions have lapſed into the hands of *Spain*, as divers Nations leſs prudent have done, by their own folly and a ſtupid patience of their neighbours, whoſe ordinary cuſtom is to forbear giving aſſiſtance, till it is rendred unſeaſonable, and that they are not able to redeem them by all their endeavours, much leſs by a too late repentance; as in the caſe of *Navarre*, neglected by the Crown of *France*; and Dutchy of *Lorain*, by that of *Spain*; Any Augmentation to one of theſe Kingdoms being an equal Diminution from the other; the conſideration of which keeps *Geneva* in being. And the averſeneſs the *Turk* hath towards any ſtrict Confederation with Foreigners, gives him not only the liberty to preſerve his Friends, but to take any advantage to enlarge himſelf: His Subjects not having ſuch vaſt Eſtates abroad, as might deter him from taking a revenge in caſe of injury, for fear of an Enlargement: whereas Chriſtians have Ware-houſes in *Conſtantinople* full of wealth, and to ſuch a Value, as to give this Infidel caution for his uſing us at his pleaſure without danger: Nor have we more than the Emperour's bare word to

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ſecure our Trade, which it is likely you may tell me, he obſerves as religiouſly as other Princes.

Neither is he prodigal in Embaſſadors: for, keeping ſtill the offenſive end of the Staff, he is often ſued to, but ſeldom ſends a wooing for peace; which obtained, is found of no longer life than it ſuits with the occaſions and Counſels of both parties: Therefore Confederations, Truces, and Leagues ſignifie nothing but danger to the weaker ſide, who by theſe are not ſeldom tempted to neglect the guard that cannot in prudence be leſſened upon this ſcore, it being an infallible certainty that, nothing moves another, but Profit, Honour, or Nature; The laſt of which doth leſs concern the Grand Seignior, becauſe he ſeeks not to match his Daughters out of his own Territories, eſteeming no blood Royal, but what runs in his own veins, and his that is to ſucceed him: Neither is he liquoriſh after the choice of the Iſſue of Kings for his own Bed, finding the ſame content in the embraces of a Subject or a Slave, that a more bewitched Imagination apprehends in thoſe of a Princeſs: Nor doth his modeſty abuſe him, but acquits him from the danger of having a Spie in his Boſom, or a coequal in his Councels; giving him leave to put to death or exchange his Wives upon occaſion, without the fear of any other frown but that of Heaven; amongſt whoſe joys (according to his Creed) is Change of Women and all carnal Delights.

And by the diviſion he makes of his Love among many Wives, he renders the Government leſs factious; the Diſtaſt having been found no friend to the Scepter, opening often a back door to Innovations; apparent in Chriſtians, who Marrying the Daughters of more potent Princes than themſelves, are ſo far overawed by them, as to make them Partners in their moſt ſecret deſigns, elſe they are able to diſtreſs them through the ſtrength of their own Friends. Thus a Prince comes to have an Enemy in his Boſom, and ſuch a one as he dares not queſtion, for fear of a ſhower at home, and a ſtorm from abroad. So as if all the

benefit

benefit Story can record to have (at leaſt of late) accrued to Kings from the great Allies of the Wives were put together, you ſhall find it inconſiderable, computed with the loſs, eſpecially if their Religion differs; for then ſhe looking upon him as out of the reach of God's mercy, can think nothing an injury to his perſon, or a loſs to his eſtate, if her ghoſtly Fathers are pleaſed to encourage her; Conſiderations without bottom in this Conformity in Profeſſion, and Parity in Subjection; where the birth of the firſt Son gives the title of *Sultana* to a Slave, the higheſt honour or imployment a Woman can be born to: and what might abundantly content them alſo in *Europe*, where they are made the Arbitrators of the Royal Line.

65. The Emperour appears not in publick but on Horſeback, where all Deformities, if he owns any, are beſt concealed; and is then in ſuch Splendor, as the former engaged opinion of the multitude renders him more than Humane; whereas our leſs Majeſtick Princes become ſo cheap by their daily figging up and down the Streets after their pleaſures unattended, whileſt this graver Monarch enjoys them all under his own roof; where none are ſuffered to enter, but thoſe that are dumb from their Births, or are rendred ſo through fear or uſe; no action or word breathed out of the *Seraglio*, to the Emperor's diſadvantage, but proves mortal to the divulger: Not poſſible to be obſerved among Chriſtians, whoſe Meals, like Puppet-plays, are made the object of all Eyes, and their lighteſt Diſcourſes (apt then to break out) the ſcorn of Strangers, that blow them over the four corners of the Earth, with no ſmall addition; whilſt their own Subjects calculate a crooked Nature from the Deformities of their Bodies, evil Geſtures, or a too luxurious taking in of their Wine or Meat: It not being eaſie to ſhew a man at a greater diſadvantage, than whileſt he is taking his Repaſt, the moſt certain Symbol of Mortality. This altogether caſts no leſs cloud over their Majeſty, than their Cheats and Perjuries, to procure money, are obſer-

observed to do upon their Probity: which raiseth such a damp of Contempt about the Throne, as the Obedience they own, proceeds rather from a dread of their present Power, than any voluntary or natural affection their Subjects bear to them or their vertues; of which they have so low esteem, as they think them easie to be matched, if not by themselves, by a number their Commerce and Experience hath coped withal.

66. In Progress his Train is not inferiour to an Army; in which he receives all graciously that come to see him: And by this strength and affability the remotest parts are not only wooed to Obedience, but terrified from Insurrections; calculating by the Power attending him in his Pleasures, the terribleness of a Force that should be raised in his Fury: Nothwithstanding at this time nothing appears about him but Love in his words, and Charity in his actions. For where he sees the Earth covered with Poor, he casts his Mony; which, like water put into a Pump, gives him the opportunity safely to drain the more affluent Rich. This makes the Generality look upon him as a God, that may give way to Punishment, never to Passion.

67. He owns not in his Royal Person any ingrateful Imposition, but appears ever before his people like the Sun, carrying in his looks no less Serenity than Splendour in all about him; and answers any clamours of Joy with as cordial Blessings and Thanks: knowing it as uncomely for a Prince in publick to seem angry, as poor; That threatning no less danger to the Lives, than This doth presage incroachment upon the fortunes of all that come to see him. And though none can more freely command what belongs to his Subjects, he discovers no will to imploy any Arbitrary Power in his own Person, how well soever it suits with his Nature or Occasions; Handling all Grievances to his People by the mediation of others, whom upon emergency he delivers up to their Fury. Neither doth this lessen the number of these Harpies, any more than it doth Conjurers to hear their Predecessors were torn in pieces by the

the command of thoſe they had formerly nouriſhed with their Blood. Thus by ſuch amiable geſtures, and the high price he ſeems in publick to ſet upon the Nations content, ſo great a Love is kindled in the hearts of his Subjects, that all the evils that fall upon them are removed from the principal cauſe, and attributed to ſuch as are only inſtrumental in their promotion. A practice waved by our leſs adviſed Monarchs, who ſit in Parliament, as *Jupiter* is painted, with Thunder in their hands, as if they had already the will and power, and wanted nothing but their Peoples conſent to make them miſerable; not affording a grateful conceſſion, but by the high and rugged way of Exchange; nor good words, but to uſher in a more chargeable Requeſt; ſcorning to reckon with the Subject, and make even for their Minions and Officers Faults, till they are ſo far run in the account of Prejudice, that all Love and Obedience is quite forfeited, and the Crown expoſed to the purchaſe of any that hath the ſubtilty and power to buy it.

68. For to obviate the like miſcarriage, the *Turk* gives often a favourable hearing to ſuch as complain of the Grandees, not ſeldom gratifying them with the Heads of their Oppreſſors. By which he doth not only ſtop the mouths of his People with a ſhew of Piety and Juſtice, but fills his Exchequer with the real Coin he finds about thoſe thus complained of: Yet if he takes the Parties Life to be more conſiderable to his affairs than his Death, he ſatisfies the publick diſcontent, by tranſlating the Offender to ſome remoter imployment; where being farther from the Court, ſeverity may be more neceſſary, at leaſt not ſo diſhonourable, as when it appears at the foot of his Chair: Thinking it not ſafe to gall the many-headed Monſter twice in a Place with one and the ſame Engine. And by this even and conſtant procedure, an uninterrupted Proſperity hath been entailed to this Empire, that the voice of Liberty continues ſtill ſuch a ſtranger in their ſtreets, as if their Language were barren of a word to expreſs it.

Thus by claiming nothing, he enjoys all, and by defending none of his bad Inſtruments, hath been ſecure himſelf, till theſe latter years, in which ſome Conſtellation ſeems to hover over the World, inclining all Nations to Rebellion. This imboldens me to aſſert it as a Maxim, *That Princes contract more hatred from the injuſtice and oppreſſions of their Favourites, than their own:* A far leſs Revenue than doth legally depend on a Crown, being able to correſpond for a greater ſum, than the follies of a ſingle Perſon can poſſibly conſume, unleſs attached by the bottomleſs humour of Play, which a prudent Prince cannot chooſe but look upon as far below the dignity of his Perſon: it being unpoſſible for him either to win or loſe, but at the prejudice of his Courtiers or Subjects.

69. Here is no medium between the Anger of the Sultan and Death: A great man flea'd out of Office, being rarely or never permitted to mingle among the People, who are eaſily ſuborned out of pity, to believe ſuch perſecuted for their ſakes: Therefore Diſcontent is not ſuffered to live; the Power being as ſeverely puniſhed, as the Will to do Miſchief: This makes the Grandees to carry their bodies ſwimming between Popularity and an epidemical Diſlike: ſince though the firſt be the moſt certain Meſſenger of Death, yet the latter doth not ſeldom bring the ſame errand; For, ſuch as by Taxes or perverting of Juſtice (though by the Emperours command) are found abuſers of the People, die ſome cruel death, to give the more publick ſatisfaction; whereas thoſe who fall under his Jealouſie, in relation to his particular ſafety, leave the World by a leſs painful exit; which may breed an opinion in the multitude, That their Prince is only cruel on their behalf, and at the worſt but ſevere in his own. Here the vanity of Court Minions is manifeſt, who like Beaſts for Sacrifice are crowned and honoured till their Maſters ſins require their blood to ſet him right in the opinion of the People; in the fury of whom lies all the Hell, the Religion of moſt Princes teacheth them to apprehend.

70. The

70. THe Prieſts ſcrue up to the height of Miracles all unuſual Contingencies, which make not a few in ſuch a Maſs of Events, neither is their Report wanting to augment them: And theſe are ſtill hanged before the eyes of the people, either to terrifie or allure them, as it ſuits with the preſent humour of State. And thus the Popiſh Legend came to be gilded by ſo many miraculous effects of Saints, and their Reliques, which, after all contradiction was buried, appeared to the World under no leſs than a cloud of witneſſes: Being capable of no ſtranger confutation than what they receive from a preſent incapacity of doing the like. Now if the *Turks* have been too numerous in their election, or hyperbolical in the dedication of theſe pious, or rather uſeful deceits, the error is committed after the example of the Court of *Rome*, the moſt exact Copy for Policy the World affords. Nor is there place left for blame in relation to either, ſince what was obtruded upon the Catholicks heretofore, ſuited as well the Apprehenſions of thoſe times, as theſe do now the *Turks*: Therefore the imprudence lies not in the folly of the Miracles, but theirs, who ſuffered ſuch a Critical Learning to blaze out, as pretends matter of Reproof in all things extant: Knowledge being as great an enemy to our preſent felicity, as it was to that in Paradiſe. So as *Rome* is forced at this day to let Miracles fall, out of fear to find her ſelf detected by the now ſupernumerary iſſue of tatling *Apollo*; which out of too much Wit, or too little Faith, make an over-ſtrict ſcrutiny into their Truth, hanging like Locuſts, and croaking like Frogs, about all things that ſeem green or rotten in the Church: Nor will they fall off, till their mouths be ſtopped by Preferment, or their heads ſatisfied with Reaſon: Yet had ſhe but enough of the firſt, it might ſuffice to purchaſe a competent proportion of the latter; or at worſt, ſo much Sophiſtry as might ſerve her turn: But the ancient Piety being blended in Luxury, and her Revenue in a great pro-

portion ſwallowed up by the covetouſneſs of Princes; the Pope and Clergy hold the Remainder by no better Tenure than by rendring themſelves neceſſary to the ambition of Monarchs, eſpecially that of *Spain*, Republicks being naturally not ſo auſpicious to the Prieſthood. Nevertheleſs, leſt the Catholick King ſhould attain to an abſolute power in Chriſtendom, under which his Holineſs would be totally eclipſed, his principal endeavour has been to foment a difference ſtill between him and *France*, and ſo by their banding to keep himſelf up in play, Shifts the Church was never put to, during the Golden Age of Ignorance, when Learning and all Books lay at her mercy; ſo as ſhe had power to cut them ſhorter, or extend their ſenſe as beſt fitted the occaſion: The Laity being ſo perplexed between the hope of heaven and fear of hell, that the dark entry of Death gave the Prieſts as opportune a way to become their Executors, as the bloody night of the Paſſover did the *Jews* to rob the Egyptians. But now in the abſence of the ancient Piety and Ignorance, the Church of *Rome* hath no better way to keep Reaſon from breaking in upon her (who like a Wolf hath, this laſt Century, lain gnawing at the Popes honour and profit) than by ſacrificing more men yearly to the fury of the Inquiſition, than *Solomon* did Beaſts at the dedication of the Temple: an Impiety not chargeable upon the *Turk*, who kills none for the profeſſion of any Religion, though never ſo contrary to his own; leaving God to avenge his truth, which no queſtion he would not be long in doing, were he ſo angry with the oppoſit Tenets, as they in their furious Sermons are pleaſed to repreſent him.

71. The *Turk* finding Printing and Learning the chief fomenters of the diviſions in Chriſtendom, hath hitherto kept them out of his Territories. Yet whilſt we try out our beſt time in tugging at the hard Text of a dry Book, or the ſtudy of ſtrange Languages (which are but the bindings of Learning, and do often cover leſs Knowledge than may be had in our own Idiom)

diom) they came more adapted into State-Imployments, and ſooner furniſhed with clearer reaſon, drawn from the quicker Fountains of leſs-erring Experience; and were never yet found to be out-reached in prudence by the moſt politick and learned Princes in *Europe*. Nor can any think this ſtrange, that conſiders what the cuſtom of Univerſity requires at the hands of Students, *viz.* knowledge in the Arts ſo called, and a nimble mouthing of canting terms, coined by themſelves, and ſo current in the commerce of no larger Underſtandings than their own, and ſuch as are ſworn to the ſame Principles: the vanity of which is in nothing more apparent than in this, that they can eaſier ſtart ten Errors, than kill one; as is manifeſt in the differences between us and *Rome*; concerning which, tho' in right reaſon we do, and cannot but agree in many things, yet the heat and rancour of the diſpute is no whit abated.

72. All Sciences any ways reſembling thoſe we call Liberal, are taught no where but in the Seraglio, where the Grand Signior hath the power to encreaſe or diminiſh the number of their Profeſſors, according as it ſuits his occaſions. Able men, reſembling wanton Boys, that rather than be unimployed, will do miſchief; None attaining to any perfection but what he hath uſe for: Idle Valour being the Tool, as Learning and Knowledge are the Operators of all Civil Diſſentions. A courſe quite contrary to the ill-husbandry of *Europe*, (or more particularly *England*) in whoſe Body Mercury and Sulphur exceed Imployment, which ſhould be the Salt to fix the reſt, and keep them from putrefaction: For want of which her Schools do man out as many Enemies as Friends; legible in the vaſt volumes of Controverſies that lie vindible on every Stall. This reſults from the multitude of Grammar-Schools (in the builing of which appears more Zeal than Knowledge) where all come that are but able to bring a Bag and a Bottle, no unfit Emblem of the future poverty of their Trade; In which, like a Lottery ten

take their chance in Beggery, for one that meets with a Prize; and that, when it comes, is ſcarce worth the labour, coſt, and time required in making them capable: No mens fortunes being confined in ſo narrow a Circle, nor built upon ſuch ſhaking Foundations as thoſe of Scholars: The fire already kindled in Church and State, by their claſhings in Opinions, having melted the Baſons and larger Plate, our Anceſtors ſet up for the encouragement of Learning; which, like a Viper doth now endeavour to eat out the Bowels of her Mother. For the Parents of School Boys, not being able to advance them higher, all the reſt is loſt but Reading and Writing, and they rendred by ſeven or eight years lazy living, uncapable of the labour belonging to the more profitable Plough, and ſo become Serving men, and Lawyers, and Juſtices Clerks; by the vertue of which profeſſion they turn cunning Knaves and cozen their Country: A charge circumciſed in Turkey, by mixing the expenſive callings of Law and Divinity together, by which their Prieſts are ſo fully imployed, as no leiſure is given to ſtudy Innovation in either profeſſion, and conſequently dries up the Fountains of Rebellion. Which foreſeen by the prudent eye of the Divine Legiſlator, *Moſes*, directed him to the uniting of the ſacred Rites, and civil Sanctions into one Body, making the Law of the Land a piece of God's Law and Juſtice of the Magiſtrate, Religion: which ſtamps no leſs Authority upon the Law, than it procures Reverence to the Judges, and promiſeth to the Government, where it is entertained, Length of days, and Safety on the one hand, with Riches and honour on the other. Which courſe affords alſo ſuch Expedition as gives one ſide, at leaſt, cauſe to applaud Juſtice; whereas here the bettered Party is left ſo little to boaſt of, that he returns home as ill ſatisfied, as he which had Sentence pronounced againſt him.

73. Neither are theſe Delays any whit remedied by the ill-husbandry of breeding ſo many to the long Robe,

Robe, as are found in *England:* which exceſs ſprings from the multitude of Pedants that reign among us; who, like Flies, blow one another in ſuch quantities, over the Nation, as they not only ſupplant thoſe of their own Calling (which in it ſelf were miſchief enough) but infect all Government. Their Scholars, if they arrive to any maturity, at length turn Academicks, whoſe Cloiſtered and Monkiſh Learning is by Stateſmen looked upon as reſembling dead Honey, which is ſtale, courſe, and leſs uſeful, none being pure and Virginal, but what is ſucked from every Flower that may be found in the wild Field of a general Commerce. For though out of the huge heap of Univerſity-men Providence hath ſnatched ſuch choice Brands, as are able to illuminate the World, yet let theſe towring Eagles ſpeak ſincerely (who like the Soul of Learning appear above that vaſt pile of Fathers, School-men, Linguiſts, Criticks, *&c.* heaped up by the Court of *Rome*, for a Funeral to all farther enquiry after Truth) and they muſt tell you, that the leaſt part of this excellency came from their Mother: The Tongues being at the beſt but the Crackers of Knowledge: the Kernel remaining uſeleſs, if not bitter and loathſom, till picked and dreſſed by Employment and Experience. Nor can this be admired by ſuch as conſider the practice of ordinary Tutors, who throw to their Pupils the dry Bones, and not the Marrow of Erudition: By which more time is often conſumed in the ſetting out, than a wiſe man perhaps would have thought well ſpent in the whole Journey.

74. This is not ſaid to bring any water towards the cleanſing of their hands, who either have or do intend to imbrue them in the ſacrilegious Spoils of Colleges, to the utter diſcouragement of all future Charity; I wiſh them rather cut off: For though thouſands are found to bury their Talents in the Ocean of Controverſies, and an implicit adhering to the Writings of the Ancients (who might poſſibly err out of no leſs

policy than the Church of *Rome* hath ſince maintained them) yet all Ages do afford ſome that ſcorn to be tied up to Patterns, but enrich the World with ſuch new Inventions, as may not only expiate for the Charge, but the Ignorance of all Foundations.

75. Thus I have ſhewn, that the *Turks* want of knowledg in our Learning or Religion, leaves him neither ſo Imprudent or Wicked, but that he is able to promote his own Intereſt, and willing to make his Subjects ſo far happy, as may ſuit with an Abſolute Power.

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INDEX

Of the Particulars contained in the

OBSERVATIONS

UPON THE

Turkiſh Government.

1. *The Preface*; Mahumet *the Founder of the Turkiſh Empire: his Story diſadvantagiouſly recorded, for want of Pens of their own.* 2. *The time luckie for his Attempts.* 3. *His Followers ignorant, and (ſo) apt to take any Religious impreſſion.* 4. *Croſs accidents hindred not their Progreſs.* 5. 7. *His chief Rites gathered out of Judaiſm and Chriſtianity.*--6. *Images prohibited, and why.* ——8. *The Inſtitution and Uſe of (the Jewiſh and) their Sabbath And*——9. *Prieſts.* 10. *Their Policy directed more to the Princes Intereſt, than the Prieſts*——11. *who are to be kept in a Mediocrity.* 12. *The Alcoran, by whom interpreted.* 13. *Prayers more frequent than Preaching.* 14. *In what Uſes their Doctrine ends.*——15. *Not to expect happineſs here, but in another world.*—— *Their Practices not ſo bad as ſome Chriſtians.* 16. *The advantages to the State from Oaths and Religion.*—— 17. *though a falſe one; and from Church men, who yet drive*

drive on their own interest.---18. *The Mahumetan Rites not chargeable or grievous to Nature*——*Sacrifices, why omitted.* 29. *Their abstinence from Wine, and the Reasons thereof.* 20. *Their Constancy to their Primitive Institutes; the mischief of Change, and*——21. *Their Provisions against it.*——22. *Reasons of State for the Mufty's Advancement and*---*the Emperours honouring him in publick.* 23. Meca *within his own power.*——24. *Which yet cannot always secure him from his Jealousie; but upon occasion he makes him away privately; yet without aspersing his Fame, and why.*——25. *Of the expediency of such clandestine Dispatches.*---26. *A Reflection upon Queen* Elizabeth *for executing Queen* Mary *of* Scotland.——27. *Of the Custom for the Grand Signior to strangle his Brothers.* 28. *Lust and Covetousness tolerated by the* Turks.——29. *Christians more impolitickly intent upon Penal Laws.*——30. *Punishments in* Turkey *not so common as severe: popular Incendiaries removed out of the way privately.*——*The Folly of Subjects to rebel, and Rulers to provoke them.* 31. *Turkish Honours and Offices not Hereditary.*——32. *Nor Estates, which makes all apply themselves to Trades: the benefits thereof, and mischiefs of Idleness.*——33. *Luxury, Excessive Building, Furniture*——34. *Horse races, Hunting,* &c.——*avoided (much) by their Polygamy.* 35. *Their publick Buildings magnificent; which some Christians demolish: advice to publick Spirits, rather to build Bridges, and mend High ways.* 36. *In order to augmentation of Empire, their interest promotes three things.* 37. *First, Obedience, either sacred, to the Mufty,* &c.---38. *or Civil, to the Emperor, who is very absolute.* 39. *Secondly, Parity.* 40. *Thirdly, Fortitude.* 41. *Eunuchs made Generals, and why,* 42. *Janizaries, why unmarried.* 43. *Quarter seldom granted, or not till after full victory.*——44. *which they will not throw away upon poor places.* 45. *Their Ordnance.* 46. *Their Food not dainty.* 47. *Their Expeditions why in Summer: Their Armies so strong, as not to need Reserves.* 48. *Upon a loss they retreat, without hazarding another, and why.* 49. *They are able to keep the*

Souldier imployed. 50. The Cavalry encouraged, a Feud between them and the Foot; which prevents Conſpiracies; the like doth their being raiſed out of ſeveral Nations. 51. Forts pernicious to ſuch great Princes, tho' of uſe to weaker ones. 52. Religion, why not proclaimed the cauſe of War. Conſtantinople unworthily loſt. 53. They fight not ſo courageouſly againſt thoſe of their own Belief. Succeſs an ill Judge of Truth. 54. The Sword an unfit inſtrument to plant Religion.——55. That of the Mahumetans, why it rather inclines to Hope than Fear;——Contrary to the Popiſh Goblins, which intimidate Souldiers: The Turks breed up theirs to valour and Obedience. 56. They count Fate inexorable, yet pray: though Praiſe were more proper. 57. Mahumetans and Jews abhor Chriſtians for their Images and real Preſence. 58. The Turk ſubtil in his Treaties, and if neceſſitated to break his word, charges the blame upon his Miniſters.——59. Yet by reaſon of his ſtrength, is ſeldom driven to ſuch baſe ſhifts, as weaker Princes make uſe of. Perjury of latter times more frequent among Chriſtians, which theſe Infidels avoid (in judiciary Trials) by examining witneſſes apart, &c. inſtead of taking their teſtimonies upon Oath. 60. Why Jews muſt turn Chriſtians before they may become Turks. 61. Opinions of Strangers indulged, and—— Curtezans tolerated. 62. The Grand Signiors Revenue imployed in his Wars,——his Pleaſure. 63. His Wars, by reaſon of his ſtrength, offenſive, and—— openly proclaimed, why. The Venetians impolitickly deſerted. A Combination of Chriſtians againſt the Turk,——how unlikely to ſucceed upon ſeveral accounts.——who ſhould head it?——The Pope,——The Emperour,——The King of Spain,——The Venetians. Expedients to weaken the Turk,——The Jeſuits (if the Pope could ſpare them) to foment Schiſm, &c. among them,——To ſhelter ſome of the younger Royal Branches, or Grandees, that may head an Army, &c.——64. Why the Turk ſeldom make Leagues,——ſends Ambaſſadors, or ——marries Foreigners,——though he take many Wives. 65. Why the Grand Signior appears not in publick, but on Horſe-back, and in ſuch ſplendor; yet takes his Repaſt

paſt and Pleaſures privately in the Seraglio; The contrary uſe how diſadvantagious to Chriſtian Princes: 66. *His vaſt train in Progreſs; yet——affable and winning carriage.* 67. *For Impoſitions, and ſuch like Grievances, he uſeth Inſtruments.*——68. *whom, upon occaſion he either delivers up to the fury of the People, or removes farther off.* 69. *His Wrath fatal.* 70. *The Turkiſh Prieſts cry up all ſtrange Events for Miracles, as well as the Papiſts——whoſe Juggles have been detected by the Learning of this laſt Age.* ——71. *Which, together with Printing, the* Turk *tolerates not; A reflection upon Univerſity Cuſtoms.* 72. *Thoſe Sciences the* Turks *have, are taught in the Seraglio only. The multitude of Grammar Schools among us do more hurt than good. In Turkey the Offices of Prieſt and Lawyer are united; as the Laws of the* Jews, *both Divine and Civil, were into one Body by* Moſes,——*The beſt form of Government.* 73. *A modeſt Cenſure of, and*——74. *An Apologie for Univerſities and Colleges.* 75. *The Concluſion.*

A DISCOURSE UPON *Nicholas Machiavel:* OR AN Impartial Examination of the juſtneſs of the *Cenſure* commonly laid upon him.

Machiavel is branded by all, neither can any abſolve him quite from Blame: Yet, conſidering he was not only an *Italian* but a Courtier, few can do leſs than admire his bad fortune to ſee one man inherit in particular the maſs of Reproaches due to all Princes and Stateſmen in general; ſo far as to ſtile, in way of Contempt, ſuch *Machiavellians*, who in a truer ſenſe might be termed Followers of *Charles* the fifth, *Lewis* the eleventh, or *Henry* the ſeventh. By this embracing the bare Apparitions of Vertue and Vice, without obſerving the true Subſtance, which they quite let paſs; marking for Blemiſhes in precedent times, what Hiſtorians note for Prudence, if not Beauty in ours: So as he that impartially examines the lives of thoſe formerly named (who are yet no Prodigies in the Nature of Government) may

may find more Evil, than can be deduced out of this mans Senſe, or (for though we know) the worſt of his Thoughts: Yet they have Wiſdom inſcribed on their Tombs, by the Penners and Readers of their Stories, in which they lie quite under the favour of ſome elegant Apology, hitherto denied to *Machiavel* by ignorant and ungrateful Poſterity.

He was Secretary to the State of *Florence*, of which he hath left an incomparable Hiſtory, with other Books ſo full of Truth, Learning and Experience, that the hand of Detraction hath not been able to aſperſe them; only it endeavours to attach ſo me ſtragling expreſſions in a ſmall Pamphlet, called His Prince, which are with far leſs Charity remembred, than ſo many larger and better pieces forgotten.

That he was imployed in honourable Embaſſies, is manifeſt from Story; And what umbragious and falſe Poſitions Embaſſadors Profeſſions oblige them to, the Tranſactions of all States abundantly declare: For, as the *Italian* ſaith, *The beſt of Women with their Petticoats deveſt their modeſty, to render themſelves more grateful to their Husbands Embraces*; So Publick Miniſters can hardly pay the endeavours they owe to their Country, without exchanging for worldly Policy a great part of that Candor which ſhould be current in the more ſacred Commerce of honeſt and religious men. Nor can any exſpect leſs hope of forgiveneſs in relation to ſuch as by theſe oblique means advance the preſervation of God's People, than the Midwives of *Egypt* may be ſuppoſed to have had, who purchaſed themſelves Houſes by ſuch uncertain Proteſtations; as, if extended on the Rack of a nice Scrutiny, could not chuſe but confeſs and appear to all, little better than Lies. Few humane actions can be ſeparated from the droſs of Deceit; only ſuch are of beſt eſteem, as carry the greateſt mixture of Charity; which makes me humbly conceive, this Learned Man deſerves leſs Cenſure: ſince ſuch Princes only as *Jeroboam* (whoſe Intereſt is always to damnifie others in order to their own pre

ſerva-

ſervation) and not their Inſtruments, may juſtly be ſaid to cauſe *Iſrael* to ſin.

His was no new Deſign, but in all Ages projected by the moſt faithful Hiſtorians, who make it their buſineſs to perſonate and repreſent the behaviours of Princes, though never ſo undecent; and did ever purchaſe the more applauſe, according to the greater or leſs faculty they had to do it to the life. Neither can the ſtricteſt Religion condemn the Speculation of Ill, without betraying her Profeſſors, if not her ſelf: For with what vaſt diſadvantage ſhould a good *David* cope with a ſon of *Belial*, were there not prudent *Huſhai*'s to countermine the inſides of wicked *Ahitophels*, and to learn men in power the Art to catch their wily Neighbours in their own Traps? Nor do we find his Directions ſhunned in a leſs publick Commerce than that of Princes, ſince it lies not out of the way of Inſtance to prove ſome ſharpe inveighers againſt *Machiavel* have attained to Church Preferments, under the favour of worſe or the ſame Principles that *Alexander* the ſixth aſcended to the Papacy.

Do any lay obſcenity to the charge of *Albertus*, or is he not rather ſtiled the Great, for having ſo plainly ſet open the Cloſet of Nature? If any ſort of men have reaſon to tax this Author, they are only Kings and Perſons in power: For as it is the Cuſtom of light women, imperiouſly to blame all broad expreſſions of what they captivate their Servants affections by; ſo Stateſman may with more ſhew of Juſtice, complain of the publication of ſuch Axioms, that being undiſcovered, their uſe might be with more ſecreſie and ſucceſs.

Neither doth any greater Reproach redound to him from ſuch as pervert them to the prejudice of others, than to a Fencer, if his Scholars make uſe of his skill in the deſtruction of their Friends: It being only his aim to teach them how to guard themſelves, and reſiſt others that ſhall, contrary to the Laws of God, Nature, and Probity, endeavour to aſſault them.

Igno-

Ignorance and lack of Experience in the Cuſtoms of other Nations are the Parents of theſe ſpurious Cenſures; for had they been where he writ, theſe Documents would be no more admired, than the moſt monſtrous of thoſe Chineſes we obſerve in *England*, are in compariſon of ſome to be found at the feet of the Alps.

Neither will a ſmall abatement appear in his Charge if the days he lived in be ſeriouſly conſidered. His misfortune was, to be contemporary with Pope *Alexander* the ſixth, and of intimate acquaintance with his Son *Cæſar Borgia*: And what theſe were, is ſufficiently apparent to men verſed in Story: a ſtudy ſuch proclaim themſelves ignorant of, that can ſo bitterly exclaim upon *Machiavel*: For were they converſant with the procedures of Superlative Powers, his Rules would ſeem rather impertinent, and below the Practice of Princes, than to deſerve ſuch ſevere Reproofs, the ſting of which lies in their own ignorance, not the more uſeful Knowledge, they condemn.

No Age abounded more with Action, or ſhewed the inſtability of worldly Honours plainer than that he writ in: Therefore from a man wholly converſant in Court-Imployments (where it is thought a Lunacy to look beyond the ſecond Cauſes, or to act upon the credit of any higher Providence than their own) worſe things in reaſon might be expected than his; which are really no other than the Hiſtory of wiſe Impieties, long before legible, and ſince imprinted with new Additions in the hearts of every ambitious Pretender; yet he undergoes a Cenſure, equal with thoſe that commit far greater wickedneſs than his, or any Pen elſe is able to expreſs.

Divers Eſtates in *Italy*, did in his time deſire, or actually change their Lords: A juncture opportune to teach nothing ſo naturally, nor require any thing more neceſſary than Aphoriſms of Policy. For *Naples* was torn out of the Houſe of *Anjou*, by *Ferdinand*, and the people oppreſt under Father and Son. *Lodowich* took

took the Dukedom of *Milan* from young *Galeas* with the like treachery as *Francis Sforza*, Father to *Galeas*, had done from the Dukes of *Orleans*.

He ſaw the Deſcent of the French into *Italy* winked at by Pope *Alexander* the ſixth, in expectation of raiſing an Houſe for his Son *Caſar*, out of the Gleanings of the French King's Conqueſts; In which he prayed without his Beads, being ſo far out, in the account, as that after *Charles* had got a large ſhare in *Italy* (through the mediation of the Jealouſie of Princes, no leſs than the Diſcontent of the People, ariſing from the uneaſie poſture they lay in, ſo as all Changes were conſidered with delight) he entred *Rome*, forced His Holineſs into St. *Angelo*, from whence, after ſome time, he came out ſwearing to ſuch Capitulations, as the victorious King was pleaſed to proffer him: And though at his reception, the French King kiſſed his Foot, yet he durſt not truſt to his ſingle Infallibility, but took his Son *Caſar* for an Hoſtage; and to hide it from the Envy of other Catholick Princes, he covered his detention with the Title of an Embaſſie, ſtill to reſide near him in token of Amity: But, not long after, *Caſar* procuring an Eſcape, his Father, contrary to his Oath, contracted a League againſt the French; ſo much to the prejudice of that Kingdoms affairs, as it may not only excuſe *Machiavel*, but all Writers of Politicks, if they labour to abate the faith of Princes, in relation to the ſtricteſt Stipulations made with Neighbours, found ſeldom obſerved, but broken as oft as kept by abſolute Powers, to the irreparable loſs of the weaker Party: Whereas an Errour in private Perſons may be expunged by an After-game, or helped by complaint, *&c.* Remedies too weak to cure the Wounds of Princes, who in ſuch caſes are ſaved only by their unbelief, and ſeldom periſh, but through unadviſed confidence, in giving too much credit to the Proteſtations of leſs religious preformers of Covenants which riſe and fall; not according to the more conſtant Standard of Religion, but the various ſucceſs of world-

ly occaſions: And he that knows not how rare a Commodity Probity is, in the Market of Princes, is no fit Reader, much leſs a competent Judge of *Machiavel.*

Leagues, Truces, Compacts, and Peace, are become ſo crack'd and invalid, through a daily miſcarriage in performance, as they ſerve for little better uſe, than to buy in ſmaller Territories, ſuch as *Lorain* and the leſſer Cities and Principalities in *Italy* and *Germany*, that have little elſe to truſt to, but the promiſes of Protection they receive from more Potent Monarchs, which they know would devour them, but out of dread of each other: Therefore bound by the ſtrongeſt reaſon of State, to balance them upon the acceſs or deſertion of every fortune good or bad.

Which makes Oaths among Stateſmen, upon a true ſurvey, to ſignifie nothing; at beſt, more danger than profit: Binding only ſuch, as, in relation to impotency or Honeſty, ſtand in leaſt need; and becoming, like Juglers Knots, no ways aſtrictive to the more potent, who are ever able to elude them by ſlights, or break them by power. Now ſince *Italy*, for whoſe Meridian he calculated his Adviſo's, conſiſts, for the moſt part of weak pieces, it ſhews him more excuſable, if not commendable, in fitting them ſo accurately to their practice and conveniency. And till all Kings agree (which is never to be expected) to keep their Stipulations and Covenants, you cannot think it reaſonable that a Subject to the Duke of *Florence* ſhould have adviſed his Patron to begin; ſo contrary to the examples of thoſe times, as it was known, the Pope did then contract an Amity with the Grand Signior, which in Charity, may be thought he meant not to obſerve, though for his ſake, he ſuffered himſelf to be hired to poyſon his Brother (fled into Chriſtendom for fear of taſting the fate of the reſt, after his Father's death,) and might have been of great advantage to any, that had deſigned to abate the Ottoman Empire: Now after the breach of Faith, ſo contrary to the promiſe made to this poor Infidel, at his being put

put into his hands: and his Holineſs's own intereſt, in caſe the *Turk* had invaded *Europe*, it cannot be more paſſion than diſcretion, to condemn *Machiavel* for his ſeaſonable Advice in relation to the Oaths of Princes.

After all this, he ſaw *Charles* the French King loſe *Italy*, with the like facility he had gained it, all the advantages he might have made being ſnatched from between his legs, by the Catholick King. And the Pope and his Son, by miſtake, poyſoned with the ſame bottle of Wine, prepared by themſelves for others; by which the Father was taken away preſently, but the Son, fortified with Youth and Antidotes, had leaſure to live and ſee, what he had gotten, torn out of his poſſeſſion, and himſelf forced to fly to his Father-in-law, the King of *Navarre*, in whoſe ſervice he was murder'd.

It were heartily to be wiſhed, that unlawful practices were only vendible in *Italy*, and not the traffick of all the Courts in the known world: where the marks, the Text hath ſet upon *Jeroboam*, who (according to the Dialect of *England*, for I find it not ſo elſewhere) may be ſtyled, *The* Machiavel *of the* Jews, cannot ſcare Princes out of the ſame path: For what King hath failed to ſet up Altars at *Bethel* and *Dan*, when their power is in danger, by the peoples going to *Jeruſalem?* when *Saul* was but a Subject, he ſought to the Prophet for his Fathers Aſſes, but after his aſſumption to the Throne, a Witch is conſulted, about the ſucceſs of a Battle. Chriſt ſaith, *Not many great*, &c. *are called:* Men's out-ſides, at Court are ſoft, but their hearts (within) ſeared and hard.

Pride is the root of all Evil; which Princes do not only foſter in themſelves, but water by preferments in all others they find able to promote the ends of it: whoſe effects cannot be comprized in a narrower circle, than the whole Maſs of Impieties, Ambition is able to commit: That prompted *Phocas* to kill his Maſter the Emperour; *Cæſar* to ruin the moſt glorious Republique ever the Sun ſaw; It teacheth Children to pull

undecently the Crowns from their Fathers Heads; it is this that fills Hell with Souls, Heaven with Complaints, and the Earth with Blood; It made *Charles* the Fifth, to arm himſelf againſt him; he believed, if he believed any thing, to be the Vicar of our Saviour, and would have led him in triumph with *Francis* the French King, made his priſoner the ſame year by a like fate of War: Neither did *Philip* the Second do leſs than mingle the blood of his then only Son *Charles*, with the great quantity he ſpilt upon the Face of *Europe*; yet his thirſt unſatisfied, he ſet a New World abroach in *America*, which he let run, till it was as empty of people, as himſelf of pity. Are not the Heads of Nations preſented by Hiſtorians, like that of the Baptiſt in Chargers of Blood? Nay what are Chronicles leſs than Regiſters of Murders and projects to bring them about, to the beſt advantage of ambitious pretenders? Yet none are ſo ſeverely blamed that writ them.

I would not be ſo far miſtaken, as to be thought to apologize for tyrannical principles and practices, knowing they render both Doers and Sufferers miſerable: My aim being only to prove, that if *Machiavel* ſtood legally indicted, he could not be condemned by thoſe at the Helm in any State, who in all Ages were his Peers, and could not therefore in equity take up a Stone againſt him. Bad Advice, without Execution, hurts only the Giver: Beſides, I cannot believe, the generality of thoſe that cry out upon him, in publick, ever ſaw or read his Writings, but take their Clamour upon truſt, as they do againſt *Julian*, ſtiled the Apoſtate, how truly, I leave to ſuch as are better able to judge, than thouſands of men ſo impudent as to extend incomparable Wits upon the erring Rack of Common Fame, in imitation of their ignorant Anceſtors, who looked upon Mathematicians as Conjurers; though Wiſdom hath juſtified theſe her Children ſo far, as to inform the World, that no Learning is a greater Enemy to falſhood than theirs.

Yet

Yet *Machiavel* is ſo modeſt as to ask, Who had not rather be *Titus* than *Nero*? But to him that will be a Tyrant, he propoſeth a way leſs prejudicial to his Temporal Eſtate: As if he ſhould ſay, Thou art already at defiance with Heaven, therefore to preſerve thee in an earthly power, no mean is left but to be perfectly wicked, a task not higher to be performed, no not by the worſt of Uſurpers; It being as far beyond example that any Tyrant hath done all the miſchief requiſite to his own and Childrens ſafety, as that the beſt of Kings have, in any age, put in execution all the good. Now of the firſt he propoſeth *Cæſar Borgia*, for the moſt abſolute pattern, who uſed all Artifices to remove every impediment ſtanding between him and his deſires, but his own, being ſick at that time of his Fathers death, which perplexed his affairs ſo, as he could not bring in a Pope of his own Faction; for want of which, his ſo well-built Deſigns (as he fondly ſuppoſed) fell to the ground, as moſt of theirs do, that proſecute Empires by oblique means; into whoſe lap Divine Juſtice not ſeldom throws Deſtruction, or ſome louder Diſcontents, that overvote the pleaſure, Ambition takes in the accompliſhment of her ends.

But ſince it is ſometimes the will of God (for Reaſons beſt known to himſelf) to give a happy ſucceſs to bad means wiſely contrived, why ſhould this Florentine be ſo bitterly inveighed againſt, who cannot be denied but to have had at leaſt as vertuous Principles, for a Member of the Roman Church, as *Alexander* the ſixth, that was Head of it? with whom all Impieties were as familiar as the air he breathed in, ſo far, that it could not be ſo well gueſſed, when he ſpake true or falſe, as by the abundance of Oaths he uſed when he meant to deceive.

Worldly Wiſdom is recommended to us in the perſon of the unjuſt Steward; and I pray, what doth *Machiavel* ſay more of *Cæſar Borgia*, but that he was a perfect Tyrant? And if he preſume ſo far on your (better ſuppoſed) Honeſty, as to propoſe him for

an Example, yet it is ſtill of Evil, and what fitter pattern can there be for an Uſurper, than one of his own Coat?

Neither are the Rules he lays down, waved by the beſt of men, if wiſe; for who executes not ungrateful actions, by Deputies, acceptable in perſon? And all theſe his Documents he gives only to a Prince; for had he deſigned this practice to a Son, or any elſe circumſcribed in a narrower room than a Kingdom, he might be more juſtly condemned: but undertaking to make a Grammar for the right underſtanding the Dialect of Government, why is he blamed for ſetting down the moſt General Rules, and ſuch as all Statesmen make uſe of, either to benefit themſelves or hurt others? That they make no conſcience of falſehood, is manifeſt by *Lewis* the Eleventh, that learned Father in King-craft, who pronounced him ignorant of the way to live, that knew not how neatly to deceive.

That Breach of Faith in private perſons, is not only deſtructive to well-being but alſo damnable, he cannot deny: But Princes pretend larger Charters in relation to a more univerſal Commerce; which they extend to Embaſſadors, and Miniſters of State; as counting all things honourable that are ſafe: and if this be an Evil, it is the King's, and no way curable, but by the King of Heaven.

To conclude, a Body politick is like that of a Man, which when it is altogether, ſhews outwardly a beautiful and comely ſight; but ſearch into the Entrals from whence the true Nouriſhment proceeds, and little is to be found but Blood, Filth and Stench: The truth is, *Machiavel* is obſerved to have raked deeper in this than his Predeceſſors, which makes him ſmell as he doth, in the Noſtrils of the nice and ignorant; whereas thoſe of more prudence and experience, know it is the moſt natural favour of the Court, eſpecially where the Prince is of the firſt Head; of which, ſuch as come in by Succeſſion may abate much.

OBSER-

OBSERVATIONS
UPON THE
K. of *Sueden*'s Deſcent
INTO
GERMANY.

WIthin an Age or two, ſometimes more, ſometimes leſs, according as the World is inclined to Happineſs or infelicity there hath ſtill riſen up ſome Ambitious pretender or other, that hath laboured to Build himſelf a Name by the effuſion of Humane Blood: And theſe offering fine Subjects for Diſcourſe and Romances, and by the Antients ſtiled *Heroe*'s; by the Moderns Conquerours and men of high ſpirits. The firſt of theſe we hear of, is *Nimrod*, branded by God himſelf; To him *Alexander*, *Caſar*, and innumerable others ſucceeded, who for the moſt part ſtand highly regiſtred in Hiſtorical Calendars, becauſe they afford good Pens an eaſie way to render themſelves immortal by a neat expreſſion of their Butcheries, when indeed they both deſerve rather the curſe of Mankind, the one for doing, the other for recommending to poſterity ſuch cruel examples, without giving them the true name of wolfiſh Ambition, which all merit, who infeſt others Territories out of no more pious reaſon than Aug-

mentation of Empire. The principal Errand, however palliated (to purchaſe Partakers) with more plauſible and gilded Motto's in their Flags, which they hold out to the people. And I believe if God had continued the King of *Sueden* in life and ſucceſs, he had gone as high in Blood, and as deep in Devaſtation, as his Anceſtors and Goths did in *Italy*, where they ruined ſuch Monuments, as Time could not have yet demoliſhed, but that ſhe received aſſiſtance from their barbarous hands. And now I have ſet him under his natural colours, I am bold to maintain, that he that looks to the end of his Proſpective, ſhall ſee his Actions reach beyond the Darings of all (in that kind) that ever went before him, as may appear by theſe Circumſtances.

1. He did not fall on men drowned in ſloath and Luxury, but on a Prince whoſe prudence was lately weakned with the loſs of a Crown, and his peoples valour new whetted by regaining it. Being ſo far from wanting all neceſſaries for War, that, beſides new ones of his own, he was Maſter of all ſuch Magazines, as were provided by the Elector and his party: So as it may with reaſon be believed, that if the *Suede*'s little finger had been in the endeavour to leſſen the *Auſtrian* Family, when the *Palſgrave* put in his hand, the King, long before his death had poſſeſſed the imperial Throne.

2. No party (in any extant Relation I have ſeen) is heard to call him in: All the Forces he had, or could raiſe, appearing to the world as inconſiderable; till he had ſhewed them ſuch a Miracle, as a puiſſant Army upon one Horſe. After whom they ran to gather up the Spoil, who, till then, had their heels ſhackled with *Cæſar*'s Succeſſes.

3. The Duke of *Saxony*, the moſt potent Prince of the Proteſtant party, had no ſtronger Title to his Eſtate, than what he derived from *Cæſar*'s power who had placed him there for the like fault, in his Elder Branch (which yet remain'd in being to claim his right) he muſt have fallen into, had he yielded ſuccour or aſſiſtance to the Suediſh Crown.

4. He

4. He had ſeen the King of *Denmark*, coming on the like errand, baffled. A Prince inferiour to him in little but Valour and Temperance; having the *Sound* at command, not to be over-matched with any advantages the *Suede* could properly have called his own.

5. The jealous hatred, this and all other Nations have to theſe Northern people, as deſirous by nature to better their Heaven, with an incroachment upon Neighbours, that live under a more auſpicious Sun.

6. The new Proteſts of Fealty made by the Princes and Hans Towns to the *Auſtrian* Family, procured by his late Victories, the terror of which had ſo cooled the zeal of the people, and evaporated the heat they formerly were in to regain their Liberty.

7. The aſſurance he had, that *James* of *England*, who refuſed to bear his own Honour and the cries of his Children, would never liſten to the voice of a Stranger, that had no better Cards to ſhew for his future Succeſs, than Valour and good Conduct, in which the old man had as little Faith as Knowledge.

8. The *Hollanders*, his moſt conſiderable Friends, could not help him, but by way of Diverſion; being far off both in reſpect of diſtance and quality of their Power; the States chief ſtrength lying in Ships, no ways ſerviceable to the *Suede* in his Inland expeditions: And to counterpoiſe this, as if Fate had renounced all aſſiſtance but his own, the Duke of *Lorain* had caſt himſelf blindfold into the Arms of the *Spaniard*; with whom was as madly joyned the French Kings Brother, both in Alliance and Perſons at that time very conſiderable, in regard of the known weakneſs of the King of *France* his Body, and the ſurmiſes of his Sterility, thought to be ſupplyed by the Cardinal's induſtry.

9. He could not expect ſuch cordial help from *France*, as a natural Prince of *Germany*; becauſe upon ſucceſs he was ready to aſſume the Title of Emperour to himſelf; the only bait likely to draw in the moſt Chriſtian King. Neither could that Nation be aſſu-

red,

red, that, his ends attained in *Germany*, he might not be prompted by his good fortune to invade them, Ambition ſwallowing all opportunities of gaining, without the taſte of any former obligations. And for the French King's being choſen by the Reformed Princes Head of the Union; He knew that King looked upon it, rather as a ſcorn put upon *James* of *England*, for his neglect, than as an honour done to himſelf; the *Germans* being wholly compelled to it by neceſſity, in that juncture of occaſions.

10. For Mony, accounted by all the only Oyl able to make the Engines of War move, he could not have much, being numbred among the pooreſt Kings in *Europe*. And to make this effect the more impoſſible to be diſpenſed with, he knew the Emperour like a *Coloſſus*, had not only a leg of Iron in *Germany*, but one of Gold in *Spain* to aſſiſt it upon the leaſt offer of any motion to offend him.

11. The beſt he could expect at firſt (till Succeſs had made him formidable) from the *Landgrave Van Heſs*, *Wittenburg*, and the reſt of the meaner Princes, was a modeſt Neutrality: Or if they were ſo mad as to ruſh themſelves into a ſudden declaration for him, there was a large compenſation made to the other ſide, by the unfeigned aſſiſtance of the Duke of *Bavaria*, who had his affection newly purchaſed by the rich donative of the *Palatinate*, together with the Principal *Lay-Electorate*; which could hold no longer good, than the Emperour was maintained in Superlative power.

12. It is true, that *Walleſtin* and the Emperour's Veteran Militia had parted from the laſt Action with ſome diſcontent: But this is ſo ordinary at the Disbanding of Armies, when there is no farther uſe of them, that it could not infuſe ſo deaf and ill Spirit into the generality of the Souldiery, but that the ſound of the next Advance Mony would ſoon caſt it out: And one to command in chief was not hard to be found, where the late Combuſtions had created ſo large a choice.

Had

Had he been beaten, or ſneaked out of the Action, as *Denmark* did, ſuch Reaſons might have been upbraided to him, as raſhly neglected: But ſince he was able to break through them all, *they multiply the weight of ſtronger of his own*, which led him on againſt theſe; not to be found but in his own Head, and the confidence he had of his Conduct and Valour; doing many things wherein appeared a Hand more powerful than Fortune's; who was not able to make her ſelf Miſtreſs of his Sword, but by taking away his Life: And that done, Victory had been ſo much his, that it could not be denyed to his dead carcaſe.

If the ſtrength of the Enemy adds to the Conqueſt: who could cope with a ſtronger, and upon more diſadvantages? ſo as who ever reads the Adviſoes of thoſe times, ſhall find that the King of *Sueden* made, not only *Rome*, but *Conſtantinople*, to tremble; the *Turk* ſtanding in ſuch admiration of his Valour, that he loſt his activity, and did not only forbear to make inrodes into *Germany*, which on leſs occaſions he uſed to do; But gave off all thoughts of offending others, as if he feared he ſhould have work enough to defend himſelf.

And had the *Suediſh* Sword made as deep impreſſions in his Empire, as it left in *Germany*, they would have been looked upon as Miracles; And, inſtead of Antichriſt (which by reaſon of his ſucceſs, ſome Cathoticks fondly call'd him) he would have been ſtyled, *The Champion of the Goſpel.*

All the advantage I can find the King had, out of himſelf, was the Emperour's Ignorance of that Common Leſſon, ſo often repeated to the Prejudice of the wiſeſt Princes; *That Slighted parties are followed with the greateſt train of inconveniences, in relation to ſuch as deſpiſe them.*

Now if men eſteem of Souldiers, by the quantity of Blood and Land they have waſted, King *Philip* the ſecond of *Spain* will out-go them all, in his Conqueſt of *Peru*, and the reſt of thoſe weak people: But if Reaſon may be heard, the leaſt part of *Germany* asketh more difficulty to reduce it, than both the *Indies*, or all that *Alexander* and his like are able to boaſt of.

A

DISCOURSE

UPON

Piſo and *Vindex*;

Who both conſpired the Death of

NERO,

Though with a contrary Succeſs.

PISO a Noble-man born, beloved of the People, drawn into the Action rather out of the perſwaſion of others, than his own affection, aſſociated with the choiceſt Wits in the *Roman* Empire, followed by the braveſt Spirits, and armed with pretences that were proof againſt all the darts Reaſon or Religion could caſt at them, yet miſcarried in the midſt of theſe advantages, falling ſoon after into the ſame Grave, he had moſt juſtly meaſured out for *Nero*.

The Foundation whoſe Ruin was laid by *Vindex*, that had no ſtronger materials to work his deſtruction, than what he hammered out of his own invention, and the advantage he took from the love of a broken Legion, no way conſiderable in reſpect of the reſt of the Princes

Princes Forces, that ſtood at this time firm to him, having had their affections newly warmed by divers Largeſſes and a daily Impunity; ſtronger engagements in ſuch corrupt times, than all the vertue and piety incident to fleſh.

It's true, *Vindex* never lived to ſee the effect of his brave attempt, as the moſt ſtately Fabricks are commonly leaſt enjoyed by thoſe that build them: Yet the Reaſons why his beginnings did ſucceed, rather than *Piſo*'s, may be ſome of theſe.

1. Of which the firſt lies hid in the dark Book of Fatality, where all things are kept from periſhing till they are arrived at the utmoſt period Providence hath ſet them; which is for that time as conſtant in the preſervation of the Inſtruments of her wrath, as the Diſpenſers of her clemency: But when the critical minute, appointed for their deſtruction is come, they lie level with their feet, whoſe hands before were not able to reach them.

2. The manner of *Piſo*'s attempt, which was to aſſaſſinate *Nero:* An endeavour no leſs indecent for men of Honour, than unproper for a Tyrant; who as he is Enemy to all, ſo ought he to periſh by the hands of all, which by a Clandeſtine diſpatch, had not only loſt the pleaſure, but the example of their Revenge. Neither was it in any degree of poſſibility likely to be concealed, and therefore the harder to ſucceed, having been communicated to ſo many, and of ſo different tempers, who out of hatred to others or love to themſelves, could not chooſe but reveal it.

3. As the body of Man, be it never ſo ſound, is maintained in being by contention of humours, the blood flying to the heart upon any ſudden aſſault: But if a Bruiſe be made in a remote place, it falls not out ſo, but affords the virulent matter leiſure to gather. Thus are bad Princes with more eaſe and ſafety deſtroyed by a remote and open hoſtility, than a ſudden and private attempt: For, near, men ſee daily ſo many effects of their cruelty, that they are afraid, ſtudying more

more their own ſafety than the freedom of the Common-wealth.

Beſides the familiarily with Tyranny makes it ſo domeſtical, that thoſe within the Verge of the Court know not well how to live without it: Therefore they muſt be tender of his preſervation, to maintain their own power, having rendred themſelves either actively or paſſively as odious to the people as their Maſter.

4. As any thing that miniſters occaſion of diſcourſe, the farther it extends, the more ſound it makes; and he that gathereth Snow, hath a Ball proportionable to the diſtance he rolls it: So thoſe that cry out afar off, upon the abuſes of the Court, do not only draw attention from ſome about them, but tickle the ears, and ſtir up the Spirits of all ſuch as have felt, or do fear the weight of Oppreſſion. Nay, ſuch perſons themſelves as at a nearer diſtance, would, out of hope or fear, labour to quench it, will, a great way off, look upon a combuſtion, with delight: Novelty being of that nature (eſpecially following things ill) that it raiſeth more expectation of good, than it can deſtroy.

5. Open force doth aſſure the Malecontents, that there is pretence made of no more than what is cordially intended; to which the ſoft whiſpers of a few Confederates cannot enough perſwade: It being the ordinary practice of tyrannical Governours, by ſuch inſtruments to entrap others for whoſe lives and Eſtates they long. But in this caſe, Report, that repreſents nothing in its due proportion, inſtead of the danger that is, muſters up all that may be: And in this the concerned Tyrant ſeconds her; who looking through the falſe Spectacles of guilt and fear, reads his fortune worſe, than poſſibly it is written, and above prevention; ſo far as though Hope (the laſt friend in ſuch adverſities) cannot quite be ſhook off, ſhe fixeth upon lower objects than the continuance of his former power. This flattered *Nero*, that though they drove him out of *Rome*, yet for pity, or to ſatisfie

ſie his Party, they might be drawn to leave him *Egypt* quiet: As fooliſh an opinion in him, as it had been madneſs in them to think any power meet to be left in the hands of an exaſperated Prince, whoſe Revenge cannot be buried but in his grave, eſpecially if it reſpects his Subjects: For though himſelf might be of a nature to forgive it, thoſe about him cannot, but will be ready to incite him to take it upon all occaſions.

6. Where there are many that conſpire, the apprehenſion of any one will ſoon detect the reſt; whereas the like reſolution taken by a ſingle perſon, and not communicated, ſeldom fails, being ſecure from all fear, and haſtned by no accident but what opportunity preſents.

7. Ill Counſel is rather to be harkned unto, than, none at all; there being a poſſibility to mend it with better: whereas dull ſuſpenſion loſeth time, a thing irrecoverable; and doth not only aſſure the Adverſaries, but diſheartens Friends, giving them leiſure to liſten to the free offers of the contrary Party.

It may be obſerved in the fall of *Nero*, that the meaneſt Conſpiracy is not to be ſlighted; For in a crazed Commonwealth, the leaſt jangling will bring the multitude about the ears of their Governour; who, having offended all, knows not whom to truſt, that hath any power with the people: And this perceived by his own, they deſert him, or by his deſtruction labour to purchaſe their particular ſafety: For what hope can another have in him, that diſtruſts himſelf?

He that had loſt the love of his people, cannot be certain of his preſent ſafety or moderate ruin when it comes; for the moſt part ſudden in regard of his own knowledge, though preſaged and wiſhed by all the world beſides.

No prudence can maintain a Tyrant long in power: for though he may divert the people from making inſpection into his diſpoſition, by expoſing his Agents to their mercy; yet at laſt the ſucceſſion of the ſame abuſes will direct them to the true cauſe; which being once diſco-

diſcovered to lie in his Nature, nothing he doth ſhall pleaſe, but be ſuſpected for more evil, than it can in probability produce: The worlds Opinion exerciſing no leſs authority over Kings, than meaner men. Beſides, *the delivering up men in Authority to the rage of the People*, like letting of Blood, may ſtop the progreſs of a preſent Fever, but much weakens the power of the Prince, to reſiſt a future diſtemper.

After the diſorders of a Tyrant are laid before the eyes of the people, it turns thouſands his enemies in an inſtant, that out of Cuſtom or Conſcience prayed for him the day before. Who are more ſolicitous to advance his deſtruction, than careful to chooſe a Succeſſour that might be fit to govern. Their Diſcretion extending no farther than their Nouriſhment, which they only receive from hand to mouth. Therefore all the uſe that can be made of this popular Monſter is, during their firſt heat: For, their expectations deluded (being incapable of honour or reward) they are ready, with the Dog, to lick up the ſame *Nero* they had vomited out. And, that it is eaſier to expel a Tyrant, than to find a Prince in all points worthy to ſucceed, appeared by *Galba*: And by *Otho* we find, when the multitude are up in Swarms, they care not what Buſh they light on.

If *Seneca* had got the Imperial Diadem from under *Piſo*, it is uncertain, whether he had been able to have kept it: Vertue having ſhewed her ſelf as great an enemy to a freſh Family as Vice; to whom Cruelty is for the moſt part more neceſſary than Clemency, eſpecially towards the Nobility, who are obſerved to carry the moſt natural affection to the old line, that firſt wound them up to honour.

I would be loth to blame *Seneca* wrongfully, though the immenſe Treaſure he left behind him doth, not only, by conſequence, accuſe him of too much Covetouſneſs, as ſome Authors are bold to lay Ambition to his charge; which the worſe became him, becauſe unpoſſible to be ſatisfied but at the coſt of his Maker.

But

But admit this Stoick in outward Profeſſion, though an Epicure in his Gardens, *&c.* to be as good as he deſired to be thought, yet if he had not reſtored to the Romans their loſt liberty, but ſought to eſtabliſh the Government in his own houſe, he had only imitated their Charity, that take a Slave out of one cruel Family to put him into another, that might in a ſmall time prove as bad: or if he had governed moderately all his life, it had been like the good day in a Fever, which is ſo ſhort and uncertain, that it takes away all taſte of Eaſe and Delight, *&c.*

A DISCOURSE UPON THE *Greatneſs* and *Corruption* Of the Court of ROME.

THere is nothing Idleneſs and Peace makes not worſe, Labour and Exerciſe better; The Tree that ſtands in the Weather, roots beſt, and deepeſt; The running Water, and Air that is agitated, are moſt wholſome and ſweet. The cauſe of this may be deduced from God's eternal Decree, That nothing in Nature ſhould remain idle and without motion: This alſo extends to the Children of Grace, who go more nimbly about the works of their heavenly Calling, being driven by the ſtorms of Perſecution, than when they have nothing but the ſmooth voice of Proſperity to allure and perſwade them. The *Martyrs* profeſſed Chriſt more boldly, amidſt the flames of the hotteſt Perſecutions, than we dare do in the Sunſhine of the Goſpel.

God never made a larger promiſe of his continuing Truth in any place, than to the Nation of the *Jews*: Yet

Yet how often do we find it buried in the rubbiſh of Errours and Impiety? Their Kings and Prieſts either teaching, or at leaſt tollerating Idolatry: The Church being driven into ſo dark and narrow a corner, as the Prophet *Elias* could not diſcover a righteous man: Neither was *Jeruſalem* in better plight, which had the Temple, and in that the Oracles of God, in poſſeſſion. For if it did eſcape profanation during the worſer days of *Solomon*, his Son *Rehoboam* ſaw it plundered, and in moſt of his Succeſſors Reigns it lay neglected or miſimployed. So that if a ſtranger, led by the glorious title the *Jews* had, to be the people of God, ſhould have conformed himſelf to their worſhip, he had ſcarce mended his market, though he were before never ſo great an Idolater. Yet God never gave a larger Charter to any Church, part of it being contained in theſe words, *I have hallowed this Houſe which thou haſt built, to put my name there for ever.* This proves God's Promiſes conditional, and that outward Felicity ſeldom accompanies inward Integrity; or if they have the luck to meet, they preſently part, mens hearts being ordinarily too narrow to entertain goodneſs and worldly pomp.

The Churches we read of in the New Teſtament, with whom the Holy Ghoſt was ſo familiar, as to direct particular Letters unto them, are not now to be found. Only *Rome* brags, ſhe remains the ſame in purity of Doctrine, though for Manners ſhe is as corrupt as her elder Siſter *Sodom*, ſo that if *Italy* be a Circle of Impiety, the Court of *Rome* is the Center. Yet theſe plead their Title with God himſelf, grounding it upon the tottering Foundation of worldly felicity: Forgetting that it is againſt the example of all times, that any Nation, much leſs a Church, ſhould ſo long ſail under the merry gale of earthly proſperity, and not long e're this diſcharge her ſelf of that rich lading ſhe was fraught withal, when ſhe traded for Souls, under the Fathers of the Primitive times. There having been ſuch a ſucceſſion of imperious greatneſs in that

Chair, as *Rome* is now more like the proud and triumphant Chapple of Antichriſt, than the poor and militant Church of God. All the calamities that have of late fallen upon her, may be ſaid to have dropt from her own Ambition, in ſeeking to enlarge her power at the coſt and prejudice of others, and therefore more naturally to be ſtyled puniſhments than Perſecutions.

You caſt your eyes on no Story where the villany of Popes is not at large diſcovered; who can then believe that the pure Spirit of God ſhould indow with infallibility of judgment Monſters ſo viſibly corrupted? We find, the Holy Ghoſt did under the Law hate and forbid all impurity though in meer outward Ceremony; how then ſhould he under the brighter light of the Goſpel, ſuffer himſelf to be poured out of one unclean Veſſel into another; beginning again with a Conjurer where he left with a *Sodomite*?

Yet they ſay, *Rome* is the true Church, out of which there is no Salvation: Not remembring that the holy Scripture, Charity and Reaſon tell us, God's Church is as univerſal as the Earth; and ſhall one day be gathered together under Chriſt the Head. Now in the mean time, that harmony of Opinions they pretend to, may be rather wiſhed, than hoped for. In *Paul*'s time ſome made conſcience of eating things ſacrificed to Idols, others of Circumciſion; yet he condemns them not for ſchiſmatical. And it is but a weak evaſion to ſay, He bare with them in regard of the infancy of the Church: For in theſe days of knowledge ſhe is as infantine in ſome places, as ſhe was then: where he that taught had the ſtrength of Miracles to juſtifie his Doctrine, which theſe want, and are driven to this ſhift in lieu of them, to cozen the people with ſuch as are ſuppoſititious. Now if there be no ſalvation out of the Church of *Rome*, not to ſpeak of our ſelves, *&c.* what charity is it to think all the water caſt away, that is poured in Chriſt's name upon the faces of thoſe Chriſtians in *Greece*, *Ruſſia*, and remoter places, to which this Ages curioſity and covetouſneſs hath ta ught them

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the way? This makes me think there is no room for ſuch monopolizing opinions: But I leave this to Divines, returning to the Pope.

After the Piety of the firſt Biſhops of *Rome* had purchaſed them Reputation, and that God had not only opened the hearts of Potentates to receive the Goſpel, but their hands to build and endow Churches: They being advanced firſt to the Dignity of Arch-Biſhops, thence to Patriarchs, and ſo at laſt to the Papal Supremacy, (a name derived from *Pater Patriarcharum*, which for brevities ſake was written *Pa Pa)* exchanged their Piety for Promotion. It being the Cuſtom of frail Humanity, to conclude goodneſs at the beginning of Felicity.

For taking the advantage of new kindled Zeal wiſely obſerved by them to be the hotteſt, the Popes were able to lead Kings and People whither they pleaſed, and in the interim had the opportunity to proportion what power or riches they thought fit for themſelves.

Now as Policy is not able to keep long the right way to Heaven, ſo at laſt it led them into a world of Impieties, by encroaching, under pretence of Religion, upon higher Juriſdiction and Power than could naturally belong to Subjects: which wanting ſtrength of their own to maintain, they ſheltered them under the Donation of ſuch Princes, as had no better Titles to their Crowns, than was derived from an Uſurpation over the weakneſs of thoſe in former poſſeſſion; glad of the Popes Protection, becauſe they found the generality of men either out of Religion or Ignorance, made their eſtimate of the truth or falſhood of the Titles, and legality of the Claims of Princes, according as they were more or leſs current in the opinion of their Clergy, whoſe judgments depended wholly on the Biſhop of *Rome*, who afforded his approbation to their illegitimate Titles, out of no weaker Reaſon of State, than they at firſt deſired it: Laying up with all diligence their Petitions, and his

Grants, to remain as Precedents for their poſterity to be guided by: Therefore it is no wonder, why theſe Tyrants and Uſurpers ſhould ſtrengthen the power of the Pope, ſince the foundation of their own was laid upon the exorbitant exceſs of that of *Rome*: which is ſo improved, as the Emperour hath, for many ages, received his Crown from their Succeſſors, to whom his Predeceſſors had formerly given the Mitre.

The cloud of Ignorance, that did then cover the face of the world, was a great help to keep their jugling undiſcovered: For that little Learning extant in thoſe times was wholly included in the Monaſtical Clergy, (the Laity being intent upon nothing but Wars and Pleaſure) ſo as they had opportunity to make all Books and Records ſpeak in their favour; which being Manuſcripts, and ſo but in few hands, it was no hard matter to corrupt them. Beſides, being prohibited Marriage, they did neither reſpect nor acknowledge other Poſterity or Alliance, than thoſe to ſucceed in the ſame places, of whom they had ſo religious a care, as they thought none merited well of the Church, that did not leave them endowed with more Power and Immunities than they found them: Making it an Article of the faith they owed to the Profeſſion, *to ſuppreſs the Laity, and advance the Clergy*: And if this was the End, they eſteemed no Means ill, conducing to it.

Thus by Time, the Indulgency of good, and Neceſſity of wicked and illegitimate Princes, they freed their whole Society from the Juriſdiction of the temporal Magiſtrate, not ſuffering them to be liable to any puniſhments but thoſe eternal, and ſuch as their own ſuperiors ſhall think fit to lay upon them; ſeldom ſuitable to the fault, unleſs in caſe of Schiſm from their general Tenets: and in this their Jealouſy, no leſs than prudence makes them very ſevere. Now having purchaſed Eaſe, Honour, and Impunity, ſuch as were Poor, Guilty, or Ambitious, beſide Younger Brothers, and

thoſe in Debt, entred their Fellowſhip; which freed them from preſent want, and fear of puniſhment for former Offences, how capital ſoever: And theſe being, for the moſt part, of the beſt natural abilities, ſoon learned the skill, ſo to work on the Conſciences of dying people, and thoſe affrighted with their ſins, that the Church was left Heir of the beſt part of Chriſtendom. And taking encouragement from the blind zeal then reigning, (which till Printing had opened a way to Knowledge, rendered all things poſſible unto them) they did not only make uſe of ſuch profitable Errors, as their Fore-fathers left them but brought in new ones of their own contriving, gilding them with the ſplendid titles of things neceſſary and of religious uſe; Amongſt which were Images, brought in at firſt only to encourage others to imitate their conſtancy, whom they ſaw painted, with the manner of Death they had been put to by the Perſecutors of thoſe Times: Of the Croſs, wore anciently only for a Cogniſance, they have made a Tutelary God, looking no higher in their Extremities: The bleſſed Saints were ſcandalized with the Worſhip given to them, and their Reliques: whom, in a full imitation of the Heathen, then made Protectors of their Cattle, and ſmaller Pleaſures, as Hawking, Hunting, *&c.* And becauſe the Bible did not, in their opinions, afford a ſtore ſufficient for all uſes, they have added a number more as may be found in the Legend.

To the Monks, and all ſorts of Friers, the Popes have ſucceſſively given immenſe Priviledges and Indulgences, wiſely conſidering, they gain them victories, without the Sword, and are a ſtrong and faithful Militia, fed and paid by the reſpective Princes of Chriſtendom, who though they know they depend on a Foreign Power, yet few dared to explode them: ſo ſharp and terrible was their fear of the Knife, and more deeply wounding dart of Excommunication. And becauſe, in caſe all Kings ſhould have joyned, it might have gone hard with his Holineſs, he kept them im-

ployed abroad at the Holy War, or at Enmity one with another, or at leaſt at Unity with himſelf, by maintaining their uſurped Titles, or diſpenſing with their Inceſtuous or Adulterous Marriages. But finding, in theſe latter days, Knowledge hath expoſed him to a Reformation, and that Princes would no longer make the vindication of his Temporalities, or what, under the notion of Spirituals, he is pleaſed to call His, a matter of Religion: and not daring to alter any thing formerly admitted by his Predeceſſors, for fear of falling under this undeniable Concluſion, *That he which hath erred in one thing, may in more:* He moſt politickly called in the Inquiſition, which turneth no leſs to the profit of the Secular Prince (who hath all he diſlikes condemned by an Authority uncapable as well of Envy as Revenge) than the Preſervation of the Eccleſiaſticks, and his Holineſſes power from falling under ordinary Diſpute: which Policy he borrowed of his younger Brother *Mahumet*, whoſe errours remain to this day in Credit, becauſe it is death to queſtion the truth of them.

No man can ſay the Pope imitates *Peter*, except in denying his Maſter; who following the example of Chriſt, did in humility waſh his Companions feet, which this doth in jeſt, during the holy week, as they call it; but ſuffers his own to be, in earneſt, kiſſed by Kings and Emperours. It is true, he ſtiles himſelf the Servant of Servants, but is content to be worſhipped under the title of Lord of Lords: Nay ſome of his Flatterers have given him the name of a God, yet with *Paul* and *Barnabas*, he doth not rend his Cloths, ſaying, *He is a man ſubject to infirmities, as others are*; but rather ſeeks to ſeem worthy of this Title, by proclaming to the world, *That he cannot err*, a power God hath wholly reſerved to himſelf; or if communicated (which I will not now diſpute) it is only to the Church in general, when in his fear they ſhall meet to determine matters of Religion, which is ſo contrary to the

nature

nature of his Greatneſs, that no ſound is ſo terrible to him, as that of a General Council, a thing this Age cannot hope to ſee free and intire, by reaſon of the contrary Intereſts of Princes, who, together with Religion, mingle their covetous and ambitious Pretences: For if ſuch interruptions had not been, ſo undecent a proceeding ſhould never have taken place, as was in the Council of *Trent*; where the Emperour ſuffered the Pope to be Party and Judge, and the Biſhops bereft of all power, either to propoſe or determine. Nor were the Plantiffs admitted to more favour or liberty or diſputation, than to remain quiet, and hear themſelves condemned: ſo as in concluſion, though this Synod was deſired only to abate the power, and reform the abuſes of the Court of *Rome*, it was managed by them with ſo much policy that it did rather much ſtrengthen and confirm the exorbitant power of that See.

The greateſt things in diſpute between Papiſt and Proteſtant, are matters concerning Profit or Honour which may ſatisfie any, not delighted with blindneſs, that they were brought in by diligence of the Prieſts taking advantage from the ignorance of preceding Ages.

From all which I may conclude, that ſuch amongſt them as are wiſe, converſant in Hiſtory, and acquainted with the preſent practice of the Court of *Rome*, are fouly to be ſuſpected of Atheiſm; becauſe Conſcience can never be perſuaded againſt a convincing experience: which is alſo made good by the irreligious *Italians*, from whom comes this Proverb, *The nearer the Church the farther from God:* For ſuch abhor Religion, becauſe they ſee the Pope makes but a politick Robe of it, taking the liberty himſelf to put it on or off, as becomes his occaſions.

A DISCOURSE UPON THE ELECTION OF Pope *LEO* the XI.

IN the Negotiations of Cardinal *Peron*, may be found a perfect Journal of ſo much of the Election of *Leo* the Eleventh, as was poſſible to be known by one ſide; to which Diſcourſe I ſhall refer all thoſe that do believe the Pope can be the true Succeſſor of *Peter*: It being incongruous both to Prudence and Religion, to imagine the Holy Ghoſt ſhould mingle intereſts with the ambitious ends of Princes, who ſhun no impious means to make him ſucceed, that is thought the trueſt friend to their Occaſions. I know it is not only in the power, but the practice of God, to raiſe his ends out of ill means; Yet it were preſumption in men to ſhape out his work, though he be able to fit our endeavours to his own Honour.

But the Court of *Rome* ſeeks to make the people believe, that, notwithſtanding theſe Conſiderations, after the Maſs of the Holy Ghoſt is ſaid, he is as really preſent in the Conclave, as he was with the eleven Diſciples, when they choſe a Succeſſor to *Judas*, who be-

betrayed Christ. In which they acknowledge themselves either *Atheists*, or presumptuous fighters against God; For if the Choice be his, how dare they interpose their mediation, or hope the French or Spanish Factions can possibly prevail; one side ever interrupting, because both cannot be pleased. They have of late been made sometimes by the other, which must conclude the Holy Spirit subservient to humane Endeavours, or no more friend to this Choice, than to that of the Grand Signior.

Here you may see how they labour to hire or force the Holy Ghost to fix upon some such subject, as may be most auspicious to the prevalent Party, who is invoked out of Ceremony, leaving the rest to be hewed out by themselves. Before these Monarchs grew so potent, the troubles in the Conclave were rather more than less: For the Cardinals made Elections so tedious by their towsing, that sometimes the *Romans*, sometimes other Princes, forced them to resolve. And to avoid such constraint, they did often pitch upon Impotent men, such as for Age or Weakness were not likely to hold out long, (as this *Leo* who died in few weeks after his assumption) during whose time the Pretenders are at leisure to concoct their Designs better; which is ordinarily done by Bribes, or in case they prevail not, by Poyson; nay the Devil is not left unsought to: So as *Balzac*, saith, *None, on this side the Alps, labour more to look well, than some of them, to seem sickly and weak*; hoping by that means to obtain the Chair; which is able, of a gouty Cardinal, to make a sound Pope.

In antient time the Bishops of *Rome* were chosen by the Parish Priests of that City. And how, since, Cardinals came in, is no more known, (though not ancient) than the date of many Novelties, that have most shamefully been imposed upon the Church: Yet to this day, no Ecclesiastical Cardinal (for they have others) but retains among his titles, the name of one of the Parish

Pariſh Churches in *Rome*, though he be ordinarily called by his own name, or elſe ſome other Biſhoprick or Dignity he hath in Commendam. By the inſtitutions of a former Pope, which for ſhame they dare not revoke, all his Actions that gets into the Chair by *Simony*, are null: Now what are all theſe ſiniſter Endeavours, but ſo many ſeveral ſorts of *Simony?* If *Simon Magus* had attempted by Policy, mediation of Friends, or Flattery, to have obtained the Gift of the Holy Ghoſt, ſhould his fault have been leſs, or not rather greater; Mony being the richeſt offer he could make, and moſt ſutable to the Apoſtles wants, which he ſaw others, indued with the ſame Spirit, daily caſt at their feet? And if this be granted, when had the Church a Head able to utter any thing but Falſhoods, or Nullities; All Popes having, for many years entred at one of theſe Gates? In Civil Kingdoms, the Crown is to be obeyed without queſtioning how the Wearer came by it; but to tie the Eccleſiaſtical power to theſe conditions, were to bind the Holy Ghoſt to the Popes Chair.

The Biſhop of *Rome* lays an abſolute claim to an unerring Spirit; but is not able to demonſtrate the time when he had it: If it were always, the Errors found inherent in the perſons were uncapable of blame or retraction. Yet out of this Cloud of uncertainty, ſay they, the Holy Ghoſt dictates only to his Church, and ſuch as deny it are Hereticks. If at any time he hath the Spirit of infallibility, it is, perhaps, at his firſt entrance into the Chair, as *Saul* had a greater meaſure upon his new anointing, then in all his Reign beſides; yet in the Election of this *Leo* the XI. (of the Houſe of *Medici*, and before his Aſſumption known by the Title of Cardinal of *Florence*) appears no ſuch matter, which would not have been omitted by the Penner of the paſſages of their Conclave; being an Eye-witnſs and a Cardinal, who doth pride himſelf much in his fortune, and the policy both he and the French party had uſed

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in his advance. But it may be, *Paul* the Fifth, who ſucceeded this *Leo*, had it, when he made ſo great a preſent to the Devil, as at once to excommunicate the whole State of *Venice*, with all the Territories belonging unto it: But this was afterward condemned by himſelf as raſh and inconſiderate, terms moſt unbefiting a thing done by God. And wiſe Men may here juſtly take occaſion to conclude, that no Pope doth think, or ever thought, he had a power of not erring: For if ſuch a Spirit were an uſual Companion of that See, *Paul* the Fifth would have expected the operation of it, and not have troubled a State to ſo little purpoſe, without the aſſiſtance at leaſt of a Revelation.

He that deſires to be informed of the Illneſs of Modern Popes, may be abundantly ſatisfied, if he conſult Hiſtorians, who are not dumb in declaring the faults of the Court of *Rome*. The truth is, were it not for the ſtrict (or if you will, call them pious) Lives of a few melancholick Friars, it is impoſſible ſo much wickedneſs ſhould not be hooted out of the World.

Yet the Court of *Rome* hath as ſtrong Supporters as Policy is able to bring, though her trueſt Friends are Ignorance, the Inquiſition, and Intereſts of Princes: The firſt lies in every particular Man to reform, the ſecond for the moſt part in the King of *Spain*, the third only in God.

Political

Political Occaſions

OF THE

DEFECTION

FROM THE

Church of *ROME.*

AS ſome Diſeaſes, and other Mulcts (but accidental in the firſt reſult) become, after a ſmall Succeſſion, hereditary to a Family; So Opinions, if once inveterate, render their Profeſſors Ears, like thoſe of the Adder, deaf to the wiſer and more probable Charms of Reaſon. I come juſt now from talking with a Papiſt, and find him (though a Scholar) ſo wrapped up in the old Rags of Tradition, and inſpired with ſo ſtrong an Implicit Faith, that I think it had been one of the neareſt things to impoſſible, for the Biſhop of *Rome* to have loſt ſo many, had he not fallen into ſuch Errors as theſe.

1. The ſeeking to maintain a greater ſhew of Piety in the Church, than was ſuitable to humane Frailty, and the comforts of Life: The Friars Habit being no leſs naſty than unſeemly, and therefore ſhunn'd by nicer Judgments and thoſe of Parts, not ſo capable of temptation from any thing, as Pleaſure and Profit: Or if ſuch Auſterity was called for, in relation to external Zeal, (the Parade of all Religions, and fit to be muſte-

mustered up often in the eyes of the people) yet the generality might have been left to more decent Accoutrements, by which they had become sociable unto others, and not loathsome to themselves.

2. Though such Austerity was enacted from the Members, the Head and Capital Clergy observed not the like: which alarm'd not only their Maligners, but those of their own Coat, whose Desert of Fortune had not raised them to the same Transcendency.

3. The admittance of Printing, unpossible but to prove disadvantageous unto those, whose strongest evidence, for the maintenance of their power, lay in the Ignorance and Patience of the World, which this could not but be thought probable both to inform and disturb.

4. The suffering Nations to swell into such vast Bodies, as *France*, *Spain*, &c. The most obtained under the Churches pretence, which in favour to one, and malice to others, did blast Princes titles by the thunders of Excommunication, and set the people at odds with their Natural Sovereigns. By which Exorbitances they taught the *Germans* and our *Henry* the Eight to find out a Remedy by applying to this proud flesh the powder of Reformation; the strength of which made the same Zeal, that swell'd the Priests to this height, as ready to tear away the ground from under them.

5. The mixing a desire of temporal power with what is purely spiritual, put such an alloy upon their Sanctity, that it became less current, than otherwise it might have been, had they not used the Sword, which *Peter* only drew (and yet not without a check) in his Master's cause, to purchase Principalities for their Children and Nephews.

6. The falling into the common Error of weaker Princes, who, to palliate some extemporary mischief, do oftentimes contract an incurable inconvenience, as was done in the case of *John Husse*, and *Hierome* of *Prague*:

Prague: in relation to whose proceedings the Fathers in the Council of *Basil* enacted, that *no Faith was to be kept with Hereticks.* By which they have rendred themselves incompatible with any other Tenets than their own; To whom they do by this almost as much as confess, that upon the access of a power sufficient none are to expect milder conditions, than to lay their heads upon the Block, or cast their Consciences at the Popes Feet.

7. The irrepealable Authority given to the Decrees of all approved Synods, oppoſeth the Custom of Nature, and course of all sublunary things, which are apt to change; no less than true reason of State, that abhors to be shackled by any severer restraint than she is able to cast off upon approach of a greater advantage: The dispensing with an unsociable Tenet being far less prejudicial, than the continuance of it against the grain of the generality.

8. The Pope should have removed at least so many of the Hundred Grievances, presented at the Diets, as he found all Estates concurred in the dislike of: The charge and trouble incident to the *Roman* Religion afflicting mens temporalities as much almost as their Falsehood could their Consciences: It being more policy to part with things not absolutely necessary, willingly, than by constraint.

9. The open partiality shewed in the affairs of divided Princes: By which the one side is made perpetually his enemy, and the friendship of the other no longer permanent, than it receives benefit; being wise enough to see, that the same Arts and Power that are able to help now, may, upon the recoil of Interest, be as apt to hurt: All strength conjuring up jealousie in Kings, that is not absolutely at their own dispense.

10. The ordinary and slight Provocations the Pope took to draw the dagger of Excommunication: which acquainted Princes no less with the bluntness of his Weapons, than the keenness of his Malice. By which they

they were taught to abate, ſo much as poſſibly they could, the reach of his power, leſt it ſhould have increaſed to an univerſal prejudice; nothing being more notorious than the Ambition of the Church, not poſſibly to be moderated, but by an abſolute reſtraint, and an open diſcovery of the Arts uſed to twiſt the Intereſts of Chriſt with thoſe purely their own; a medly of Colours apparent to judicious eyes: with which Religion was ſo dapled, that it was embraced by the moſt, rather out of oſtentation than love, or pure zeal, and ſo not likely to continue long.

11. Had he turned the edge of his Eccleſiaſtical ſword againſt *Turks* and Infidels, which he hath, ſince *Greg.* the Great, choſe rather to ſheath in the boſom of Chriſtians (whoſe differences, eſpecially if they intrenched upon his Supremacy, he fomented into flames) he might have inlarged the extent of his own juriſdiction by a ſupply of new proſelytes, who are ever fonder of their Nurſes, than thoſe whoſe ſharper experience of the Covetouſneſs, and Ambition of the Church hath weaned from being ſo highly pleaſed with the *Roman Guegaus.* I confeſs it unſuitable to his Intereſt, to ſuffer all or the major part of Chriſtendom to fall under the juriſdiction of one perſon, for then his power would be eclipſed, as the Moon, in Oppoſition; or quite loſt, as the Stars upon the approach of the Sun: which arraigns him of Indiſcretion, for ſuffering the *German* Empire to be Hereditary: eaſily to have been foreſeen, when once it fell upon ſo powerful a Prince as *Charles* the V. not likely to part with any thing he had once poſſeſſed, and now too ſtrongly rooted in the *Auſtrian* Family, ever to be eradicated but at the coſt of a total ſubverſion, either by the *Turk* or *Lutheran* Profeſſors.

12. The ſeveral Orders, and diſtinct Names they gave the Friars, known to breed Emulation and Diviſion among them; as is evident about the Conception of the V. *Mary*, &c. And the irreconcilable feud between the

active Society of Jesus, and all the other duller Fraternities.

13. Ceremony (though the Body of Religion, yet) is too weak to bear that Stress the Priests laid upon it; who should rather have built upon Faith, to which nothing is impossible: Considering withal that though external behaviour may add warmth to zeal, yet a redundancy of it doth not seldom suffocate and extinguish it, by converting it into Idolatry, which is a palpable mistake in the worship of God, and cannot long, among knowing people, be held from clamouring for a Reformation; which the Pope should ever have prevented by a hasty doing himself: For if once undertaken by the unconcerned Rabble, they will never leave, till the form of worship is bruised and beaten out of all comelinesse, so as nothing can satisfie but the molding it anew. Which the wit of no single Age, much less that contained in a few Heads, is able to make compleat: Church Discipline, well instituted, being the highest result of all Prudence, God hath intrusted men withal: whose materials too near scrutinized, seem to discover more Policy than Piety, by the contemplation of which mens Judgments being once dazled, they are ever after propence to *Atheism*, and a prejudicial jealousie of their Teachers.

14. The Pope neglected the prudential carriage of a Miller, who being supplied with a larger stream than the conveniency of his Trade requires, suffers it to run waste, rather than endanger the subversion of the whole Engine, he hath liv'd so long happily by. Whereas the Pope permitted the Ecclesiasticks, not only to appropriate to their particular profit, all that which ignorant zeal did voluntarily and plentifully shower down upon them; but connived at the Mists and Thunders they raised in the Consciences of Dying men: By which they became co heirs almost in every Family: Forgetting that A great Booty invites Theft, at best Envy; it being unlikely, Princes should long forbear squeezing such

ſuch Spunges, out of awfulneſs to Religion, as had no better authority for their dreining their Subjects, than they drew from a foreign power; owned by the moſt, rather out of Policy than Piety, eſpecially ſince it was ordinarily with his Holineſs himſelf to make great Levies upon no other reaſon, than to augment his own, or raiſe new Empires for his Sons or Nephews.

15. The abundance of ſuch contingencies bred a neglect of their ſurer and more legitimate Patrimony, conſiſting in Tithes and unqueſtioned Church-duties; very ſufficient to have maintained a number large enough for the loading the patience and conveniency of the moſt prudent States, without the addition of ſuch vaſt Revenues, not poſſible to be apprehended but under the notion of things ſuperfluous in the Church, ſince Chriſt in perſon never owned ſuch Plenty, which made it ſeem more undecent in him that pretended to be his Vicar.

16. Fallacies diſcovered in Miracles; which call in queſtion as well thoſe antiently and truly done, as ſuch as are reported to be new. Thus the pious Deceits our Anceſtors uſed to bring men to ſalvation, are not only made Stales to catch Profit, but inſtrumental to Infidelity.

A Diſcourſe in Vindication of Martin Luther.

HE may be ſuſpected of Hypocriſie, if not *Atheiſm*, that too ſuddenly leaps out of one Opinion into another; It being impoſſible for meer fleſh and blood, to pull up all at once a Religion rooted by Cuſtom and Education in the Underſtanding, which muſt be convinced, before it can let in another with any cordial welcome. I ſpeak not of the antient and extraordinary Callings of God, but thoſe experimented in our times, in which overmuch haſte doth often times bewray Deceit; As appeared in the Biſhop of *Spalatto*. who in my days left *Italy* for fear of *Paul* the Fifth, his enemy, and reconcil'd himſelf to the Church of *England*; but the old Pope being dead, and his Kinſman in the Chair, he reſumes his former Errors, and goes to *Rome*, in hope of Preferment, where contrary to promiſe, he dies miſerably. When Falſhood is fallen out with for any other reſpect, than Love of Truth, it inclines to *Atheiſm*, and is ſo far from mending the Condition of the Convert, that it renders it worſe.

None ever ſhewed greater ſigns of God's Spirit, than *Luther* did; who obſerved ſuch Gradations, as it may appear he found fault with nothing, he was not firſt led to by the dictates of Conſcience. Falling firſt upon the abuſe of Indulgences, too apparent an impiety, to paſs by ſo acute a Judgment undiſcovered: From this he aſcended to higher Contemplations, which afforded him the opportuniey to take notice of remoter

moter and deeper errors. His Wit and Learning having that vaſt advantage over the ſtupid Ignorance of thoſe times, that he bare down all before him, without any other Oppoſition, than the contrary Faction was able to raiſe out of power; much weakened by the deſire all Princes had, to ſet limits to the Pope's daily Uſurpations. And as for the Books, then writ againſt him, they did rather ſharpen than blunt the deſire of Change: For the Friars had ſo long enjoyed a free current of the Doctrine without interruption, that they were more intent on the reaping of ſuch Fruit as grew from the Errors ſown by their Predeceſſors, than upon Arguments to defend them. So as if Princes, that were weary of the yoke of *Rome*, had wanted the guidance of *Luther*, it is not eaſie to ſay, whither they might have wandered. And tho' *Charles* the Fifth, then Emperour, to keep his Subjects in obedience, did ſeem to diſcountenance the *Schiſm* (as they called it,) yet he was content to ſhut up the Pope in the Caſtle of S. *Angelo*. Which proves his ſmall affection, and the truth of this Tenet, that if ever Chriſtendom falls under one Monarch, or turns into popular States, the power of the Pope will be loſt or confined to *Rome*; being at this day only kept up like a Shittle-cock, by the bandying of Princes.

'Tis objected againſt *Luther*, that he was too paſſionate, uſing irreverent ſpeeches towards ſome in Authority? Yet ſo much of this fault, as Zeal leaves unexcuſed, may be imputed to his Education. All can be ſaid, is, He was but a Man, and ſubject to Common Infirmities. And becauſe his Enemies do ſo often object this, it is ſtrongly to be preſumed, his worſt fault. I could have wiſh'd, he had not married a Nun: but I believe he did it to ſhew People, The Quarrel was irreconcilable, as *Abſalom* projected when he polluted his Father's Bed: And in this ſenſe, the benefit takes away much of the blame; which lay not in the unlawfulneſs, but the inexpediency of the Fact. And

to ſhew, God did not curſe his Match (Though he might participate of the fate of other learned Men, who ſeldom find their Abilities, repreſented in their Iſſue; yet) he left three ſuch Sons, as did not give his Enemies occaſion to upbraid his Memory with them.

For the Real Preſence, maintained by him in the Sacrament, it doth not ſo much condemn his Judgment in this, as it juſtifies his Integrity in all the reſt: He being as reſolute to vindicate what he thought true, againſt the perſwaſions of his Friends, as he was againſt the threats and promiſes of his Enemies: For if any by reſpect could have warped him, it would have been a deſire to appeaſe the hot Diſpute, the retention of this Error raiſed in his own Party; wholly of his Judgment but in this particular, in which *Zwinglius*, and the *Helvetian* Church did oppoſe him. And if this be not enough to waſh him clean from the imputation of Self-ends and Covetouſneſs, the Proverb uſed in *Germany* may, That Poor *Luther* made many rich.

As he was protected from a number of apparent miſchiefs, ſo the ſame had freed him from many hidden, in reſpect of the eyes of the world, it being impoſſible, that he, who had gall'd ſo many Grandees, ſhould not have Revenge laid in wait for him, in every corner: Experience proving, that Kings themſelves can ſcarce whiſper againſt the Court of *Rome*, but the Knife is ready to give them a final Anſwer. His Death was with as little Moleſtation, as his Life was full: For being call'd to the Country of *Mansfield*, the place of his Birth, to determine a Caſe in controverſie between two Princes of that Family, he died there in the ſixty third year of his Age.

Had the Apoſtles, nay our Saviour himſelf been alive, and maintained what *Luther* did, they had been perſecuted by the Clergy: Therefore the Crucifying of Chriſt is no prodigy in Nature, but daily practis'd among men: For he that can find the heart to ſtigma-

tize

tize and whip his Brother, for an Error meerly in Judgment, would never have ſpared *Peter* or *Paul*, coming with no more viſible Authority than they had. But this is not the way to ſuppreſs an Hereſie, ſince moſt are jealous of that opinion, which uſeth the Sword for her Defence; Truth having been long ſince determined to be moſt ſtrong: And where Oppreſſion is, there for the moſt part, ſhe is ſuppoſed to be. This ſhews as little Diſcretion as Charity in ſuch as perſecute thoſe, that may be in the Right; or, if not, ſhall by this means, be kept the longer in the Wrong. If a Horſe ſtarts, the more he is beaten, the harder he is kept in the way; but let him ſtand, and have leiſure to conſider what he blanched at, and he will perceive it is a Block, and ſo go on. Yet it is neither cruelty nor imprudence, to reſtrain ſuch furious Spirits (as they do Dogs) that will bawl and fly at all they do not know: But I ſhould be utterly againſt burning their Books in publick, if they have once gained the light: which only adds to their price, and ſaves them a labour; becauſe, if the State did not put them in credit, by their notice, they would perhaps, after a while for ſhame, burn them themſelves. The Whip reforms not ſo much as he that endures it; but is taken as a triumph by the Faction, increaſing their animoſity, if not their number; ſo that in effect it proves a puniſhment to none but the honeſt and tender hearted of the People, who cannot chooſe but be ſcandalized to ſee the Image of God defaced by cutting Ears, and ſlitting Noſes, *&c.* And this raiſeth a ſtrong ſuſpicion, that the hand of Juſtice would not lie ſo heavy only on the preciſer ſide, but that ſomething inclines it that may at laſt turn to the ſubverſion of the moſt moderate part.

The *Dutch*, though they tollerate all Religions and Tenets, yet none increaſed to their prejudice, till they ſtrove to ſuppreſs the *Arminians*, who are in taſte as like the Papiſts, as Scallions are to Onions; all the difference is, that the latter is the ſtronger: Yet ſince

they have let them alone, this Opinion is obſerved to be leſs numerouſly attended.

Had the Pope ſeaſonably reformed the Error *Luther* diſcovered ſo apparently in the publication of Indulgences, and rewarded him with a Biſhoprick, for his Learning and Zeal, let him afterwards have ſaid what he pleaſed, it would have been looked upon by the people as of no credit: who like nothing ſo well, as what goeth croſs to the grain of Authority.

The Lord Treaſurer *Cecil*, having been unſufferably abuſed by Libels, ſent for the Poet, and, after he had ratled him ſoundly, began to take notice of the poor Fellow's good parts, ſaying, *It might be vexatious poverty compelled him to make uſe of falſe tho' Common Rumours, given out by ſuch as hated all in Authority*; To eaſe which he gave him twenty Pieces, promiſing to take the firſt opportunity to advance him. This favour (moſt contrary to his expectation, who would willingly have given one ear to have ſaved the other) did ſo work with him, and the reſt of the Paſquillers of the time, that, till the Treaſurer's death, none uſed the like Invectives. *Bancroft*, Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, uſed the like demeanour towards ſome Gentlemen that had laid the imputation of *Sodomy* to his Charge, *&c.*

Clemency ſeldom cauſeth repentance in an eſtabliſhed Kingdom, or if it proves a fault, it is eaſily mended; Whereas Cruelty can never be recalled, raiſing a far greater Party out of a thirſt of Revenge, than ever yet could be muſtered up from the hope of Impunity.

Therefore to conclude, ſince *Luther* alone had the power to do ſo much, let us not be thus ſevere againſt others, that having their zeal kindled (though perhaps at the wrong end) run madding through the world; but rather pity them, if they be in an errour: Becauſe they ſomething reſemble the firſt Meſſengers of Truth.

HISTO-

HISTORICAL MEMOIRS ON THE REIGNS OF Q. *ELIZABETH*, AND KING *JAMES*.

By *Francis Osborn*, Esquire.

LONDON,

Printed for *A.* and *J. Churchil*, at the *Black Swan* in *Pater-Noster-Row*. 1701.

The EPISTLE.

My Dear Lucilius,

I Do here leave to your better Education another Daughter of my Brain, that may not unpoſſibly paſs with the leſs Scandal, becauſe Chaſte from any deſire after new and forbidden Diſcoveries, or of diſturbing that huge Trade Antiquity and Cuſtom drive; the firſt amongſt Scholars, who think it a ſufficient excuſe in the juſtification of a ſtinted Knowledge, to maintain an impoſſibility of tranſcending the Abilities of former Ages, yet cannot gainſay a viſible improvment in their own; which happly would be greater, were Learning left free to every ones ſenſe, and not confin'd to Patterns and Old Forms, harder many times to be imitated or made uſe of, than New ones found, which being our own, would appear more natural and adapted to the preſent underſtandings, in many things ſtrangers to the Uſances of the Ancients: whereas the ſecond ſerves as an univerſal Chain, by which the generality are led to approve or diſlike the Words, Actions and Geſtures of others. Whoſe judgments, as I have long ſince not much valued, ſo have I a little wondred at Age, to find it ſo tetchy, when Youngers in years lay any claim to Knowledge: Since the goodneſs of the Eye, and advantage of Place, and not a long poring, diſcovers the Proſpect; more of *London* being ſurveyable in a minute from *Paul's* Steeple, than can be ſeen in an Age out of *Cheap-ſide:* There remaining nothing in this world Preſcription hath a weaker Title to than Wiſdom, *the legitimate Daughter Experience brings forth to an able and active Underſtanding.* For though all things are found to own, in proceſs of time, a publick viciſſitude, yet for the moſt part it is too ſlow and cunningly carried, to be diſcerned at any diſtance (eſpecially in relation to the pre-

preſent) which way it turns. The ignorant Traveller may ſee by the Dial, the Time is in a declenſion; but, without entring the Church or Court, ſhall be never the wiſer as to the knowledge of the true and proper Cauſer of the Motion. For my ſelf, I confeſs I am more highly bound to Letters, than any acquired advantage or natural endowment ſelf partiality or others indulgence hath hitherto been able to eſtate me in. Now if ſome, owners of ſuch parts as I am conſcious of the want of, did proſecute the like Study, having a purſe and will to purchaſe a ſight of the Intelligence, Negotiations, Conferences and Tranſactions of all thoſe that have reſided in Embaſſy with our Princes, they might no queſtion be able to compoſe a more exact Chronicle than this Nation ever ſaw of her own; and for Elegancy, it would, like honey, drop out of the ſame leaves he gathered his Information from; Epiſtles being the quinteſſence of the Writers judgment, as they are undoubtedly the Elixar of his Rhetorick. And he that deſires a more exemplary manifeſtation of this infallible (though for ought I ever obſerved, ſeldom practiſed) Truth, may find it in that learned *Italian*'s Hiſtory of the Council of Trent; a Piece that challenges all the veneration our partial Modern Readers do or can offer at the Shrines of Antiquity; a folly ſure not ſo converſant in the World before Printing, otherwiſe the moſt part of New Books from time to time had ſtill been buried in their Swadling-clouts for want of Tranſcription, which few or none would now foul their fingers ends about, as not eſteeming it worth the labour out of ſloth or contempt: So far, as the Stationers meer zeal to Gain, rather than any propenſity to the advancement of Learning, did for a while keep *Bacon*, *Raleigh* and divers incomparable Spirits more, from periſhing at the bottom of Oblivion; Good Books (antiently written in the Bark of Trees, and now) running, in their progreſs, ſo exactly the fate of Acorns, that if their chance be to withſtand the Swiniſh Contamination of their own Age, and trampling into the dirt of Contempt, they do not ſeldom afterwards become the Gods of the Nations, and have Temples dedicated to their Worſhip; As their Authors in this participate with other good men, who attain not to a ſtate of Glory till after this Life.

TO THE READER.

THough the ſtudy of Hiſtory be an ancient Preſcript for the avoiding of Ignorance, and production of Knowledge, and to this day far more in uſe than any other Politick Aphoriſms: Yet with reverence to this confeſſed excellent Doſe of others approved Experiments, I doubt not but Princes and Men in power might find a readier if not a more infallible way to Prudence, by being converſant in all ſorts of Letters relating to Embaſſadors, and ſuch Spies and Miniſters (of Common-wealths eſpecially) as are employed abroad or at home in the Tranſactions of Treaties, where all things appear bare-fac'd and at firſt hand, not ſmutted with Intereſt, or adulterated by the red and white paint of Envy, Fear or Flattery. Nor is the frequent opportunity of diſcourſing with Contemporaries (who having enjoyed a nearer Light, cannot but have ſeen more than thoſe by Time and Birth placed at a remoter diſtance) any deſpicable Ingredient in the Compoſition of an exact Stateſman; of which I find few that deſerve (in my judgment) the title, commonly forfeited to an over-remiſſneſs, or exceſs in Sanctity, or Profaneneſs; or, if you will, to Hypocriſie or Scandal, which at long running will meet both with the ſame Inconvenience. To be ſure, my ſelf have as little propenſity as ſufficiency in this Art; being no leſs obſtructed through mulcts received from Fortune than Nature; the latter of which is as uncapable of amendment, as the firſt is unlikely to find it: (For after

ter the Death of a good Father, being driven into a corner of the world by Injuries received from the nearest of Kindred, and remoteſt of Friends, I was not only invited by Leiſure, but compell'd through Neceſſity to ſeek theſe Diverſions: In which if I be miſtaken, the Pardon cannot be long in ſuing out, ſince I hope they ſhall not meet with a ſeverer Judge than my ſelf, (for whoſe Recreation alone they were intended.) Tho. the ſmall inſight I have had into Affairs did not ſeldom gratifie my ſpleen with as much delight, as it may have not unpoſſibly affected leſs ſanguine Complexions with fury or diſdain, to ſee the Valet brought into play, where diſcretion called for an higher and more exact Courtier: or to hear the People wrangle and caſt about their money, through a Fanatick deſire to diſcard a preſent Government; not foreſeeing their hopes may poſſibly be deluded in the ſame, if not a worſe Stock than they make out and lay by; often bartering a pack of Fools for a like quantity of Knaves and Mad-men: The giddy multitude being far likelier to be out in their account, than this adviſed Adage. *Seldom comes a better*; eſpecially if no wiſer heads be found in the Election than their own.

Nature hath employed Three Senſes chiefly to wait on the Body, and but two on the Mind; yet under this advantage, that theſe laſt are diſtinctly double: For which of them we ſtand moſt obliged to Nature, is not yet paſſ'd deciſion; ſince, though in regard of Pleaſure, Sight may have the Royalty, yet in reſpect of Wiſdom, the Prerogative muſt not be denied to Hearing: It being the far greater Wonder to find a prudent man Deaf, than Blind: ſo as ſome are recorded to have put out their Eyes, as enemies to Contemplation. It is ordinarily affirmed, I have ſeen this or that, when the moſt of it hath arrived at us from Report. And in this ſenſe I may be ſaid to have ſeen theſe, and a number more, which out of reſpect to others Fame, or mine own Safety, I wilfully omit.

But

But leſt this Confeſſion might ſeem to caſt a vail of prejudice over the face of that Truth I here expoſe to the curious eyes of this Age, as nakedly as Modeſty will give a toleration for, I ſhall ſay in behalf of Tradition, That all Books are her Tenements, and contain little of Hiſtory, whatever they may do of Invention, but what they hold from the manner of ſome Report or other. Nor hath the beginning, to be ſure, if poſſibly the end and period of any Nation God in his love did eſtabliſh, or fury deſtroy, a more faithful Regiſter than Traditional Reports, not commonly loading its memory with the exact calculation of Time, which rightly weighed, is but the pedantick part of Hiſtory, and ſo not unlikely the cauſe we find ſuch differences ariſing among'ſt our Chronologers, the main ſums or bottom of her account being no farther correſponſible, than for a juſt and even balancing her layings out with what ſhe hath received. To conclude with an Anſwer to thoſe that may require ſome account of the preſent Undertaking; I think it far on this ſide ſuch Impudence as Ignorance is found to plaiſter her Libels with againſt incomparable Queen *Elizabeth*, to own a ſtrength able, by rubbing off ſuch dirt (eſpecially where Deſert lies ſo thick upon her Tomb) to gild her Name, though the manner of doing it may ſtain mine own; ſince the few ſpots diſcernable in her Government are hidden, like thoſe this Ages Curioſity hath detected in the Sun, from any farther notice, by the Splendor of the reſt.

THE

THE

PRINCIPAL HEADS

Of the following

MEMOIRS

On the Reign of

Q. *ELIZABETH.*

QUeen Elizabeth *her moderate carriage at first, till exasperated by the Popes rashness: Why the Infancy of her Reign continued quiet, notwithstanding so great a shake and turn in Religion*——

2. ——*To which she was in a manner necessitated.*—

3. *How the Parliament confirmed It and Her.*

4. *She breaks with* Spain, *assists the* Dutch, *makes Leagues abroad, suppresses Conspiracies at home:* Papists *prosecuted; The Popes too late Concession*——*being refused*——*is seconded with an Interdict,*——*which proves fatal to the* Papists, *and Queen of* Scots,—— *Her death and the Duke of* Norfolks, *&c.*——*Censured.*

5. *Queen* Elizabeth *galls the* Spaniard: Cales *voyage under* Essex——*gets him Love and Envy.*

6. *The Queen foments Factions at home, and what use she makes of them, and of*——*her own inconstancy. The Spanish* Armado *in* 88.

7. *The Queens favour to* Essex,——*how often by him hazarded: His quarrel with* Blunt——*designed for his Rival.*

8. *His*

8. *His Enemies reſtleſs endeavours to ruin him——by ſetting him on high; his ample Iriſh Commiſſion.*

A Character of the Queens Court, Majeſty, Thrift: Proviſions rated, Exactions of Purveyors puniſhed.——

9.——*A witty Example thereof in* Kent.

10. *Her Houſhold Servants the goodlieſt of Perſons, &c. that could be got:——as*

11.——*Her Council the choiceſt for Prudence:——apparent in her Marriage-Treaties with* Spain *and* France.

12. *Her Councils Integrity. Offices the reward of Merit. Her exact Intelligence. Biſhop* Bancroft's *Art in dividing the Jeſuits and Regulars——afforded him Popiſh Intelligence: His Character: His endeavours for Uniformity of Worſhip——hindred by the influence of the two claſhing Factions at Court upon the other Biſhops, &c.*

13. *Letters of State writ in a plain Stile,——involving ſometimes an obſcure ſenſe, as thoſe about her Marriages with* France.

14. *Court Hoſpitality.*

15. *Her prudence in receiving Treats from her more ambitious Subjects; how ſhe diverted their humour of Popularity.*

16. *She oppoſes the Declaration of a Succeſſor, and why: Denies the Parliaments Petition for her Marriage.*

17. *Contrary Reports about her Concupiſcence. Her Art of Government and choice of Miniſters: Why ſome of leſs Abilities were taken in afterwards: Earl of* Nottingham *Admiral; his Character. The Queen ſparing in giving Honours, or ſuffering her Subjects to accept them from Foreign Princes; Examples thereof in Sir* Francis Vere, *Sir* Walter Raleigh, *Sir* Matthew Arundel, *Sir* Philip Sidney.

18. *Her modeſty in point of Augmentation of Empire; refuſing the* Dutch *as Subject, though ſhe took their Cautionary Towns; and* Havre de Grace——*to regain* Calis. *The* Spaniard *by cutting off the Heads of the* Dutch Nobility, *makes way for the ſpringing up of their* Hydra *of Popular Government.*

19. Leiceſter's *hopes of marrying the Queen; his freedom of diſcourſe with her about it, and otherwiſe; His Character.*

20. *In Foreign injuries ſhe never precipitated Revenge.*

21. *Parliaments frequent, and conſequently moderate: She reſtrains their Debates about Succeſſion and Religion: Keeps the Church humble, and carries fair with her Parliament. The* Schiſmaticks *leave* England; *how it might have been (ſafely) prevented; what hindred it; the fatal inconveniences of thoſe proceedings.*

22. Ireland *neglected, and why: The Lord* Mountjoy *ends the War: The baſeneſs of the Natives,——how much Prieſt-ridden.*

23. Eſſex's *unfortunate Expedition thither;——*Cecil's *artifice to fetch him back, to——his Death;——From which, neither the Love of the People, nor of the Queen his Miſtreſs, could bail him, and——After which ſhe never joyed;——The occaſion of her Death——reported to proceed from the Counteſs of* Nottingham's *not delivering the Queen a Ring, ſent her by* Eſſex, *(to whom ſhe had formerly given it as a Pledge of her Affection and his Safety) which the Counteſs on her Death bed diſcovering to the Queen, was by her ſent with Curſes inſtead of forgiveneſs, into another World.*

24. *After* Eſſex *death,* Cecil *being left without control, not only urges the Queen to declare* James *her Succeſſor, but uſes other endeavours to effect the ſame.*

25. *The happy condition Queen* Elizabeth *left* England *in. No conſiderable Enemy. How we ſtood related to other Nations——*Spain, Ireland, France, Netherlands, *&c.*

26. *How at home, as to Parliaments, Credit, Treaſure, Debts, Juſtice, The Church.*

27. *The Concluſion.*

SOME

SOME

Traditional Memorials

ON THE

REIGN

OF

Q. *ELIZABETH.*

1. AFter the death of *Mary*, eldeſt Daughter of *Henry* the Eighth, had delivered this Nation (for that time) from an imminent danger of becoming Tributary to the Spaniſh King (who owns none for a natural Subject, indued with leſs Pride and Auſterity than may ſerve to face a Tyranny equal to the Grand Signiors) and left the Crown to her Siſter *Elizabeth*, not only ſwept and waſhed from all Competition or Claims by the blood of Queen *Jane*, but garniſhed with the applauſe and conſent of the People; no leſs amazed at the huge fires ſhe had daily kindled to devour the enemies of the Court of *Rome*, than jealous of the partiality ſhewn to the Prieſts, whoſe exactions were become no leſs odious in things temporal, than their Latine *Mumpſimus* had made them appear in what related to the Worſhip of God; *Edward* the Sixth's Reign being too ſhort to give them a ſatiety, or make all the inconve-

niences appear, likely to follow ſo total a defection from a Church reverenced by all Chriſtian Princes beſides; It might be no weak motive to the new Queen, ſo fairly to demean her ſelf at firſt, that though ſhe entertained the Proteſtants in hope, no perſwaſions could tempt her to caſt the Papiſts into deſpair, till the Pope (better ſeen in the Dignity belonging to his greatneſs, than the Arts his Predeceſſors had uſed in their Conduct to it) did, by denying her Embaſſadors a favourable Reception, reduce here to a preſent neceſſity of renouncing the *Roman* Mitre, or her pretence to that Crown ſhe had without any conſiderable oppoſition ſo happily poſſeſt: There being no way ſo probable to continue her in power, after the Pope's ſo publick manifeſtation of a blemiſh in her Birth, as by adhering to a Party, which during the Reign of her Siſter, did juſtifie in the flames of a hot perſecution, That the Authority of his Holineſs was ſpurious it ſelf, and the Owners of it no better than Anti-Chriſts, which attempt of hers might poſſibly have worſe ſucceeded, but for the protection *Philip* the Second afforded during the infancy of her Power, flattered to it in hope of Marriage, no leſs than compelled out of a fear to ſee *England* poſſeſſed by the *Scots*, a People ever in Conjunction with *France*, and therefore likely to prove malignant to his Affairs. And as theſe Conſiderations had made him ſolicitous of her ſafety during his Match with her Siſter, they continued ſtill ſo prevalent as he did not only forbear himſelf, but reſtrain others from making uſe of that Advantage, ſo total a Defection could not but Afford. Nor was the Aſpect of a Council then ſitting in *Trent*, (to which ſhe omitted not to ſend her Miniſters) of ſmall Conſequence to her Deſign; becauſe not only this Nation, but all *Europe* were in the Strongeſt of their Labour to produce a Reformation; though far ſhort of the pretences of *Luther*, to whoſe memory the Queen had an Unappeaſable Feud, ever ſince he Upbraided her Father with the Repudi-

pudiation of *Charles* the Fifth's Siſter: whoſe Birth by this became ſo Unhappy as to be not only diſapproved by the Catholicks, but the Fonder of that Profeſſion ſhe meant to Eſtabliſh. Nor were the Religious Houſes and Lands poſſeſſed promiſcuouſly by thoſe of both Tenets, a weak Shelter to this new Princeſs, looked upon by all as the likelieſt and moſt obliged Perſon to keep them from reverting to their Antient Uſe; And therefore in Hope to be vigorouſly aſſerted by the Proteſtants, and at worſt but weakly oppoſed by ſuch as had not yet quite relinquiſhed the *Roman* Yoak.

2. And that the Penners of this Story, may be as free from the Imputation of Malice as Ignorance, tho' they acknowledge her rather thrown, than of her ſelf fallen from the Obedience of *Rome*, is deducible from the Ceremonies uſed at her Inauguration, all purely Catholick, and the Retention of the Ring, Croſs, and Surplice, contrary to the grain of her ſtrongeſt Aſſertors; From whence her Aim may be gueſt as not pointing at a greater diſſent from the Doctrine of *Rome* than her Fathers proceedings had chalked her Out; Commanding the Common Prayer Book (which contains moſt of the Maſs in *Engliſh*) to be publickly read; And its Oppoſers, the *Browniſts*, *Anabaptiſts*, Family of Love, with a Number of other Crawling Errors, the unnatural heat of *Luther's* diſputes had produced like Inſects over all *Germany*, to be reſtrained under no ſlighter penalty than death or impriſonment. Nor was ſhe tempted to this out of a vainer hope than to draw her neighbour Princes to the ſame reſolution, already in deſpair of procuring good from any milder endeavours than thoſe of Power. (The *Roman* Courtiers participating ſo much of the nature of the Mules they ride on, as they will rather indure through a ſudden obſtinacy, the laſt extremity, than remove never ſo little out of their track of Honour and Profit; no leſs manifeſt through all Ages, than in their carriage towards this Princeſs and their latter proceedings with the Re-

publick of *Venice.*) From whence more connivance than love, fell to the ſhare of the *Puritans*, that abhorred the lenity of the Queen, in not countenancing ſuch as bent their force againſt the Church of *Rome* (betwixt which and the Court there may be a wider difference than our groſſer Diſputes will ſuffer us to diſcern) from whoſe practice, though ſome deſired a Reformation a far greater part thought it damnable to reject it quite: few yet acknowledging any Deſcent or ordination but what was derived from the Catholick Church, a term of too great a Latitude to be concealed for a day, much leſs for whole Ages as many endeavour to prove. But leaving theſe diſputes to Dr. *Juel* and the reſt of her Divines (at that time better able to play the Scholars prize, than any amongſt the Friars, were found in their Anſwers) Her Juncto, in which ſhe had a choice number conſiſting of both Factions, did think it prudence not to ſtray farther than the inexorable neceſſity of the time compelled, from that union of Doctrine which had a Council to vouch, *That no faith was to be held with any but themſelves*; which muſt have rendred all her Leagues void or uſeleſs to the very Oaths ſhe took of her Subjects: yet notwithſtanding theſe Shackles ſhe ſpun out a long and as happy a Reign as ever this Nation did enjoy.

3. The precedent Reaſons joyning Forces with the deplorable condition ſhe lived in during the Government of her Siſter, and meeting with ſo fortunate a Cataſtrophe, cauſed a no leſs Conſternation in the hearts of the Papiſts (already much broken and unſetled in their paſſage through ſo many ſudden and unexpected changes) than it produced joy in thoſe of the Reformation, who apprehending her Succeſs as iſſuing out of the immediate care God had of their Affairs, became ſo far encouraged and ſedulous, that whilſt the other Party ſtood amazed in an expectation which way this new Princeſs would incline, the enſuing Parliament was wholly made up of ſuch perſons, as had already voted

voted in their Words and Actions every thing the Queen could desire to have confirmed in the House: so as no side but were mistaken in their Account, the Protestants gaining more, and the Catholicks less than could be expected, to the taking the Title of Head of the Church, and conferring it on her Majesty, which was thought unsuitable to her Father and Brother, and therefore far more unbecoming the person of a Woman: they cause a Declaration not long after to be issued out, to shew in what senses it was to be understood. And to prove they more intended the limitation of the *Roman* Power, than to secure themselves from Tyranny at home, an Act was passed inabling the Queen and Commissioners for the time being, to alter or bring what Ceremonies or Worship they thought decent into the service of God, without excepting that formerly exploded: whereby a return, (likeliest to be made use of) or a farther remove was left Arbitrary at the will of the Queen: whose Successors not being mentioned in the Act, left room to question, it ought to be no longer in force than her life. For whose gratification alone her Privy Council (that did then, and indeed almost all her time govern Parliaments) had intended it. But King *James* and the Bishops finding the advantage it brought the Crown no less than the Church, did not only own it amongst the Statutes unrepealed and in Force, but did Print it with a Proclamation to strengthen it, at the Beginning of the Book of Common-Prayer. Neither had the High Commission any better Vizard to face the Tyranny daily practised by the Clergy, but what the Authority of this Act did afford; which may one Day tempt the People to a new, if not a more dismal Reformation, after experience hath taught them how pernicious it is to entrust either Prince or Priest with any power capable of abuse: yet to the Honour of this Princess it may justly be said that she never made use of Her own Liberty to enslave the Nation, but repaid, or rather exceeded in thanks

and acknowlegments all Power they gave her; an Art loſt in theſe latter Times, or thought Unkingly. But I leave this her Wiſdom to be juſtified by the happy ſucceſs.

4. After the Queen had in Parliament, cleanſed her Birth from all the Spots the Poiſon of Tongues had aſperſed her with, and received for the future from the Houſes in the name of the Three Eſtates a promiſe of Aſſiſtance, together with an Oath of Obedience, by which ſhe might reſt ſecure from within; her next endeavour was to line and fortifie her out-works; In the proſecution of which ſhe was forced through Reaſon of State upon a deeper Ingratitude than I believe any thing but an impulſive Neceſſity could have caſt her into: For after a firm ſettlement ſhe became the ſevereſt Scourge to *Spain*, that it ever had, ſince emancipated from the *Moors*. The occaſion of which ſome lay at the haughty and proud Gate of the *Spaniard*, who grew implacable after he found he was deluded of his hope to marry her; others to a Nature reſiding in all Princes, not to acknowledge any Friends or Kindred but what are allied to a capacity of doing them ſome future good, which *Philip* the Second was not likely to do upon any remoter occaſion than the poſſeſſion of her Perſon, his ends being intent upon an abſolute Monarchy: which obliged not only *England*, but all the Princes in *Europe* to oppoſe him. Nor could any favour received in the Relation of a private Perſon bind her more to requital, than greater Injuries did to revenge. Therefore ſince ſhe forgave the latter, when ſhe had power to have taken it without danger, ſhe ſeems more excuſable in omitting the firſt, which could not have been done without loſs, and expoſing her Subjects to a viſible inconvenience, if not a total ruin.

Yet this is manifeſt in the Hiſtories on both ſides, that the Queen did by way of Mediation, long endeavour for a milder Governing of his *Dutch* Subjects (of whoſe oppreſſion both Heaven and Earth are witneſſes)

before

before a Sword was drawn in their defence. And for the Treaſure Taken at Sea, and at firſt owned, but as borrowed, it was not more than the Faith of *England* might have been a ſufficient ſecurity for, without being made the ſubject of a War. Nor did the Catholick King remain long in a condition able to diſtreſs the Affairs of *England*, his power being diverted through a male contented party that ſtood up for Religion in the *Netherlands*, at firſt fomented by *France*, and after more cordially aſſiſted by our Queen; who delighted more from her firſt Aſſumption to Power in raiſing broils, and making her ſelf an Arbitrator of others differences, than in any Quarrel contracted of her own: by which ſhe did not only keep her ſelf in plight at home, by ſparing Money (harder parted with by the *Engliſh* than blood) but gained ſo much Reputation abroad, as no publick or private indeavours of his Holineſs could ſtop other Nations (already ſcandalized at his baſe and unworthy Jugling in the Council) from confirming or making new or ſtreighter Leagues with *England* than formerly they had done, looking upon her Defection as a precedent they might one day be forced to follow, in caſe the Court of *Rome* continued ſtill her Contumacy towards Princes: And therefore likelier to meet her with comfort and aſſiſtance, than any force to oppoſe her. From whence his Holineſs was neceſſitated, in Vindication of his Honour, to imploy the Jeſuits, his own Emiſſaries, by Artifice, Poiſon, or the Knife to bring about that his Sword was not able to execute; ſo as the Peace of her Kingdom was at firſt more interrupted through privy Conſpiracies than open force: which according to the Guiſe of all unſucceſsful Treaſons turned to the diſadvantage of themſelves and their Party; the poor Catholicks, againſt whom nothing in Relation to the generality remains upon due proof ſufficient to juſtifie the ſeverity of the Laws daily enacted and put in Execution againſt them; wherewith they were ground in pieces between the

the Popes Obſtinacy, and a Jealouſie theſe practices bred in their natural Prince; by whom they were without queſtion proſecuted rather out of fear than malice: which his Holineſs at length perceiving, did offer what he before denyed, *which was to confirm her Title, and ratifie the uſe of the Common Prayer*, with the moſt of what the Parliament had confirmed upon her; provided ſhe would receive them as favours from the *Apoſtolical* See. But after this his too late Compliance had caſt him into their condition that have unadviſedly outſtood the Market, he in no ſhallower Malice than deſpair, caſt not only the perſon of the Queen, but the whole Nation under a bottomleſs Interdict, which was thundred out at *Rome*, and hung like a Squib by one *Felton* upon the Biſhop of *London*'s Gate, where after the execution of the party that did it, all other malignancy ceaſed, but what fell upon his own Creatures, who till then were not forbidden to communicate (in publick Service) with the Church of *England*, and ſo harder to be diſcovered, than ſince this open Rupture. Nor was the Queen of *Scots* (whoſe Tragical Hiſtory is to be found every where written at large) more obliged to her Catholick Father, through whoſe encouragement ſhe was tempted to aſſume the Title and Arms of *England* very unſeaſonably during her Husband's ſickneſs, and before her own Kingdom was ſetled, or any conſiderable force manifeſted, in her favour; It not pleaſing *France* it ſelf (of whoſe King ſhe was after the Relict) to ſee all *Britanny* united under one Crown: and from whence dropped ſo much of the venom of Jealouſie into the hearts of *Elizabeth* and her Council, as no means was left unſought likely to diſtreſs her, eſpecially by the Puritan Party, whoſe ſafety lay in her Deſtruction, and who ſhunned no undecency carrying any probability of being inſtrumental in her remove; forgetting that the perſons of Princes have been thought by all wiſe men too ſacred to have any hand or Juſtice appear in their death, but God's.

God's. Now as theſe ſtudied always to deſtroy her, ſo there was as conſiderable a Faction in the *Engliſh* Court that deſired her preſervation, the cauſe not only that held her long captive (many wiſhing her reſtraint that abhorred her execution) but deterred all who had either Eſtate or Honour to loſe, from attempting in their own perſon, or conniving at any other likely to be ſo wicked as to make her away: though our Queen may be found in many of her Letters intimating ſo much to ſuch as kept her, who were ſo wiſe as not to underſtand what was meant, elſe they might have fallen into the fortune of *Daviſon*, who unadviſedly venturing between the honour and ſafety of his Prince, was ground to nothing betwixt the fury of one party and ſhame of the other: Thus becauſe no body either would or durſt do it alone, the reproach was intailed upon the whole Nation, by the Apparition of a mimical and counterfeit Juſtice: Reaſon of State in ſuch nice Points as theſe being ſo contrary to that in the Schools, as it is moſt ſafe and honourable when it hath the leaſt Authority to vouch it. And if the Actors of this Tragedy had not found more ſecurity from the long Reign of *Elizabeth*, than the applauſe they had from *Scotland* was able to have afforded them upon the next Change, I believe ſo many of their race had not ſat in the Houſe of Lords. Nor was the Amorous rather than Traiterous blood of the Duke of *Norfolk*, ſpilt on the Scaffold for her ſake, more conſonant to Juſtice or the affections of her Subjects, though quietly endured, as a number of other particulars which happened in her time, that were not able to make Anſwer or give a perfect Account, ſome to Juſtice, others to Diſcretion. This proves that the common People are like Rivers which do ſeldom grow ſo impetuous as to tranſcend the Banks of Obedience, but upon the overflowing of an epidemical and illegal Oppreſſion.

5. Not to wade any farther in this, the greateſt blur I find objected to her Honour, or prudence of thoſe

aſſiſted

aſſiſted at the Helm, whoſe miſcarriage lay more in the ceremony than ſubſtance of the thing, no leſs grateful to the preſent Affairs of the Proteſtants in *Scotland* than *England*: it being the Policy of thoſe times, as I believe it ought to be of theſe, to render Alliance no leſs acceptable to Friends, than terrible to Enemies through a ſeaſonable ſupply of Men and Mony, before delay (the betrayer of all Confederations) hath rendered Affairs deſperate: not omitted by her, who by Sea and Land made it her conſtant practice to annoy the *Spaniard* through the conduct of thoſe Sons of *Neptune*, *Drake*, *Furbuſher*, *Cavendiſh*, Sir *Walter Raleigh*, &c. and in that ſucceſsful firſt expedition to *Cales* under the Command of *Eſſex* (a man of a contexture not only ſuitable to a Camp, but grateful to Ladies) by which the Catholick King was ſo unexpectedly alarmed, as Cardinal *d' Oſſat* owns it for the moſt univerſal Opinion, that the whole Nation or a great part of it might have been gained, had he proſecuted his immediate Fortune to the extent of their Fears; a Number of the *Moriſco* Race deſiring in that Juncture to change their Maſter for one more Chriſtian, though leſs Catholick, and under whom no Inquiſition was exerciſed. This made his coming back ſo ſoon, thought as miraculous as his ſucceſs, by thoſe that were Strangers to his Commiſſion, which he exceeded upon the Temptation of a preſent Terrour his landing cauſed in the Inhabitants, who in a confidence of their Caſtles had removed none of their Goods, which rendred the booty ſo far conſiderable as few returned empty handed, and many by their future living made Demonſtration of ſo great an Abundance, that he gained ſo much Love on all ſides as his Enemies durſt not Impute to him for a Fault, any Direction he had tranſgreſſed, in being too Prodigal in expoſing himſelf and the Army to danger; though his abuſing that Article of making Knights ſo apparent, had produced this Libel;

A Gentleman of Wales,
With a Knight at Cales,
And a Lord of the North *Countrie*,
A Yeoman of Kent
Upon a rack't Rent
Will buy them out all three.

This happy ſucceſs did not only eſtate him in the affections of the Militia and thoſe addicted to the Service of *Mars*, but put a no leſs high eſteem on his Councils and Endeavours, than it abated the price of his oppoſers, the moſt of whom belonged to the ſide Robe (not ſeldom at odds in War, but ever at enmity with Souldiers during peace) who grew jealous that this ſpark, worn already in the ſame place of the Queens affections, from whence *Leiceſter* that terreſtrial *Lucifer* was caſt for abuſing his Sovereigns favour to Pride and Murder, might through the Queens mediation or his own Arts one day gain the Crown, to the prejudice of their intereſt, who had already vowed the uttermoſt of their endeavours to the *Scottiſh* Title, of whom he had this advantage, that whereas *Leiceſter* was hated by the people for the death of many, and amongſt the reſt of the Earl of *Eſſex* his Father in *Ireland*, this abounded in their Love, no leſs than in the favour of his Prince, in whoſe heart his perſon had made as deep an impreſſion, as his Valour and affable Nature had won upon her Subjects.

6. That ſhe fomented Diviſions abroad I hinted before; and now I muſt tell you ſhe was not wanting in her endeavours to maintain Factions at home, by which ſhe attained to the knowledge of all things that happened: ſo as no ſuit or deſign paſſed the Royal Aſſent, before ſhe underſtood as much of reaſon as Enemies or Friends could bring for or againſt it; hearing the judgments of all, to her very Ladies and ordinary Servants: nor did this Freedom of communication betray her future

future reſolutions to diſcovery; for through a ſeeming unconſtancy, or, as others will have it, one more natural, ſhe did ſo often vary, as it was not eaſie to diſcover where or when ſhe would conclude her buzzing, and give the blow: by which unſteady carriage ſhe ſo befooled the Spyes and Penſioners of foreign Princes, as they were at a loſs, what to inform their Patrons of, or themſelves, how to reſolve: The cauſe of the *Spaniſh Armado* in eighty eight, an attempt held ridiculous by the *Flemings* and all acquainted with our Seas, and only brought about through the over-confidence his Holineſs had in a Catholick party, which he aſſured himſelf would appear upon the approach of a Navy ſtiled by him invincible. Here may be noted that counſels grounded upon foreign advice or any thing but a viſible experience, do rarely ſucceed; for Intereſt in ſuch as deſire a change doth not ſeldom make them apprehend more advantages than really there are, and cover doubts and dangers they are privy to, out of a fear to diſhearten the Prince they endeavour to imbark in their defence; as it fell out here, where not one man appeared in favour of the *Spaniard*, the very Papiſts themſelves being no leſs unwilling than the reſt to ſee their native Country in ſubjection to the ordinary cruelty found in Strangers.

7. But to be ſure the former mentioned art of diſſembling with others had ſtamped ſuch a deep impreſſion upon the Queens own nature and paſſions, as ſhe fixed upon nothing with precipitation: The diſtruſt ſhe had of all ſides obliging her to the Juſtice of equal Hearings, which few in Sovereignty will be at the trouble to afford: And from hence grew the infinite indulgence that appeared ſo long in favour of *Eſſex*; who becoming wanton from his late Succeſs, though after moderated by ſome leſs happy, he grew into ſuch Heats and Inſolencies towards any his Jealouſie had marked for Enemies, that the Queen, to keep even the Scales between him and thoſe of the *Cecilian Party*,

Party, not only forbore to pamper him with new Favours, but did not ſeldom frown upon him; though he had ſo true a Friend of her Affection, that upon the leaſt ſemblance of Submiſſion and Promiſe of return to a better Temper, it did mediate for him: *Love like a Bone, becoming more ſtrong by breaches*; he being certain upon every Reconciliation to receive from her double the Value of that her Anger had coſt him; till theſe frequent Repetitions of his Faults and her Forgiveneſs had ſwelled him into ſuch a Confidence of his own Mediation, that he looked upon all as Enemies, that in their Words or Actions acknowledged not his Friendſhip, or, which was very ordinary in Reſpect of his profuſe Liberality, did not wear ſome Badge of his Favour. And amongſt a number of theſe Sir *Francis Bacon* was one, who in an Apology he printed to vindicate his Fame from the Imputation of Ingratitude to *Eſſex*, confeſſeth him far richer in Obligations than Payments; the fate of all that ſet too high a value upon Friends purchaſed by any other Coyn than what bears the Impreſs of an Intereſt depending upon a future Hope, *It being the Policy of Courtiers, if not the Nature of Love, to conclude where it begins, which is for the moſt part in Expectation.* Now becauſe the Generality of ſuch as deſired his Ruin might think that the Favour his Miſtreſs ſhewed him proceeded from a nearer Familiarity than I have been informed it did, by ſuch as reported her apter both in her ſelf and others to kindle the Flames of Love, than quench them, They placed *Blunt*, a gallant Gentleman, and of an Honourable Extraction, in the Ball of her Eye, hoping by his application to draw from her Heart the Affection they thought Mortal to them and their Deſigns: but the whole Reſult concluding in a Duel, did rather inflame than abate the former account ſhe made of him; The opinion of a Champion being more ſplendid (in the weak and Romantick ſenſe of Women, that admit of nothing fit to be made the Object of a Quarrel but them-

themſelves) and far above that of a Captain or General: So as Sir *Edmund Cary*, brother to the Lord *Hunſden*, then Chamberlain and near Kinſman to the Queen (from whoſe mouth I have moſt of this) told me, that though ſhe chid them both, nothing pleaſed her better than a conceit ſhe had, that her beauty (of which her flatterers had bred in her a higher eſteem than an impartial ear or eye can think due from others report or her own Pictures) was the Subject of this quarrel; when God knows it grew from the ſtock of honour of which then they were very tender, and ſome mean expreſſions *Eſſex* uſed of *Blunt*, about his being imployed in *Ireland*, and not her amorous Careſſes, which Age and in a manner an univerſal Diſtribution of them had by this time rendred tedious, if not loathſom, intimated in a modeſt Expreſſion uttering in my hearing by Sir *Walter Raleigh*, none of her leaſt reſpected Servants, who upon ſome Diſcourſe of the Duke of *Buckingham*, ſaid to this purpoſe; *That Minions were not ſo happy as vulgar judgments thought them, being frequently commanded to uncomely, and ſometimes unnatural Imployments.*

8. But his Enemies finding all Complaints made to his diſadvantage, though true, neglected, or hung upon the File amongſt ſuch as ſhe reſolved at her better leaſure to enquire into the Proofs of; And remaining as obſtinate in a reſolution to deſtroy him as ſhe did yet appear in his preſervation; did indeavour, as a laſt refuge, to actuate his Deſtruction by accumulating upon him ſuch high Favours and Honours as they obſerved moſt ſuitable to his Humour, and Fortunes of the Sword-men, through whoſe Counſels they found him the moſt eaſie to be led, and amongſt whom many were placed near his Perſon by themſelves; And from theſe they received upon all Emergencies advice of his Carriage: It faring with him as it doth ordinarily betide honeſt and generous Natures, that Periſh oftner through Confidence, than diſtruſt: Nor could any other

ther means have removed this Court *Leviathan* (too deeply ſtruck with the harping Irons of Malice) from the Ocean of favour he lay in, but ſo ample a Commiſſion as might give his Ambition full power and room to expatiate in, by which he was moſt likely to be tugged a ground; Not wiſe enough to apprehend many things he found inſerted in his Patent, as *Liberty to Pardon or Puniſh the* Iriſh *Rebels ſutable to his own will*; *and Power to reward with Lands or Honours all he eſteemed worthy*, were ſuch Flowers of the Crown as his Enemies (to the diſadvantage of whoſe Friends he might imploy them) could not in reaſon but have found cauſe to oppoſe, had they been picked out for any milder deſign, than to deck a Garland for that Head they meant to ſacrifice to their malice or revenge. But this being acted (though long before ſtudied) amongſt the laſt Scenes of her Tragedy, I ſhall defer the Concluſion till ſome other time, endeavouring here (according to my weak fancy, prompted only by Report) to draw a proſpect of her Court: where, all her Reign, Majeſty and Thrift did ſtrive for preheminence without incroaching upon any Confine either of Baſeneſs or Prodigality. Nor can this be wondred at by ſuch as know the power ſhe derived from Law or Cuſtom to be furniſhed with all Proviſions at a ſet Price, By which a heavy Impoſition was cut off, found by experience to load Greatneſs, *ſeldom admitted to a cheap Market:* Sellers recompenſing their want of Honour, by the Exciſe they put on ſuch as own it. And becauſe this was Arbitrary at the will of the Green Cloth (a Court only intending Proviſion and Carriages) The Purveyors upon whom lay the execution, and ſo by conſequence the envy, were, if guilty, at the mercy of every Accuſer, being not ſeldom hang'd or put in the Pillory upon the diſcovery ſometimes of ſmall abuſes: Her Government appearing ſo full of Policy, as ſhe was rarely found to interpoſe the power of the Crown in her own cauſe: Who by turning her face

towards the ſins, and countenancing the puniſhment of ſuch Harpies, did beſides ſtop the future Current of their Corruption; Through which ſhe became not only better ſerv'd, but gained an opinion of Juſtice, and Mercy towards her people: it being the Male Adminiſtration, more than badneſs of any Office, I ever knew during her Reign or her Succeſſours, legally erected, that raiſed murmuring in the people, the ill-boding voice of Sedition: which if heard, is not to be neglected, but like the Sea ſtopped by the banks of Juſtice: for if it once grows Epidemical, all endeavours do rather enflame than moderate it, as thought to proceed more from neceſſity than love.

9. And here I think it not impertinent to inſert a Story as it was related by an Eye-witneſs. A Purveyor having abuſed the County of *Kent*, upon her remove to *Greenwich* (whither ſhe often reſorted, being as I have heard the firſt Air ſhe breathed: and therefore moſt likely to agree with her) a Countryman watching the time ſhe went to walk, which was commonly early, and being wiſe enough to take his time when ſhe ſtood unbent and quiet from the ordinary occaſions ſhe was taken up with, placing himſelf within the reach of her ear, did after the faſhion of his coat, cry aloud, *which is the Queen?* whereupon, as her manner was, ſhe turned about towards him, and he continuing ſtill his queſtion, ſhe her ſelf anſwered, *I am your Queen, what would'ſt thou have with me? you*, replyed the Fellow, *are one of the rareſt Women I ever ſaw, and can eat no more than my Daughter* Madge, *who is thought the propereſt Laſs in our Pariſh, though ſhort of you, but that Queen* Elizabeth *I look for, devours ſo many of my Hens, Ducks, and Capons, as I am not able to live.* The Queen, no leſs auſpicious to all ſutes made through the mediation of her comely ſhape, of which ſhe held a high eſteem after her Looking Glaſſes (long laid by before her death) might have confuted her in any good opinion of her Face, then malignant to all Oppreſſion above her own, inquired

inquired who was Purveyor, and as the ſtory went, ſuffered him to be hang'd: after a ſpecial Order for his Tryal, according to a Statute formerly made to prevent abuſes in this kind.

10. This Princeſs, in imitation of her Father *Henry* the Eighth did admit none about her for Penſioners, Privy Chamber-men, Squires of the Body, Carvers, Cup-bearers, Sewers, *&c.* (that were not a few in number) but perſons of ſtature, ſtrength and birth, refuſing to own her Conſent (demanded before any could be admitted to the meaneſt place in her houſe,) becauſe he wanted a Tooth; yet was never known to deſert any for Age or other infirmity after once inrolled, but either continued them, or, upon their diſcharge, gave them conſiderable and well paid Penſions. As for the Guards, Uſhers, Porters, and all attending below Stairs, they were of a no leſs extraordinary ſize, than activity for Shooting, throwing the Bar, Weight, Wreſtling, *&c.* So that ſuch as came hither from beyond the Seas upon Embaſſie or curioſity (who calculate the ſtrength, wiſdom and honour of a Nation by the Apparitions they behold at Court) had no other cauſe but to report at their return, That though a Feminine Conſtellation governed the Fate of *England*, yet there remained little hope to any Foreign Malignity of operating with ſucceſs; becauſe her deſigns were begotten under *Mercury*, and brought forth by the aſſiſtance of *Mars* in caſe of oppoſition: She owning Soulliers no leſs able to act, than Counſellors to adviſe; in whoſe choice (for the moſt part) Wiſdom was ſolely looked upon, not putting by Sufficiency though accompanied with a mean Birth, and Crooked Perſon, as it chanced in a Father and Son of the *Cecils*, both incomparable for Prudence. It being ſometimes neceſſary to make wiſe Men Noble, where Noblemen are too lazy and addicted to pleaſure, to endeavour to be wiſe.

11. It is the higheſt ſtep of advantage a Prince can meet with, To have for Council about him, perſons whoſe fortunes are of the ſame piece with his own. The conſideration of which may abate the wonder Queen *Elizabeth* proſpered ſo well at the beginning, when incumbred both within and without by ſuch difficulties, or how ſhe came to out-reach (before ſcarce able to ſtand upon her own legs) ſo exact a Maſter in King-craft, as the *Spaniard*. I confeſs her being a woman did render the delay of Marriage more ſuitable to his patience and her honour, than otherwiſe it could have been; But the dexterous management of this advantage muſt be attributed to the great wit of her Juncto, amongſt whom her greateſt Confidents were of the *Auguſtan* Confeſſion, and therefore unlikely to continue in favour, if in being, after ſuch a Conjunction, as *Philip* the Second deſired. Nor could diſtance of place, the deluder of eyes, hinder the inſpection of that Prince, who having commanded in *England* ſome years under the right of *Mary*, could not but in probability hear all that was to be known. And if we may gueſs at the Queen's carriage in this, by her proceedings in the two Treaties of Marriage after with *France*, we may preſume ſhe did purchaſe this delay (if not buy off the diſcovery of ſome Infirmity) with the Articles of her Opinion contrary to thoſe of *Rome*, and to which, as appears by an Old Letter, the Catholick King was not at that time averſe. Though upon her deluding him, to avoid ſuch a Schiſm in the lower *Germany* as had happened in the upper, he did indeavour to introduce the Inquiſition: Fortune having rendred him ſo indulgent from the beginning to the Queens preſervation, that he Sold the Low Countries, the only place able to purchaſe her Peace, a bargain (as I have heard from the Earl of *Leiceſter*, the laſt *Engliſh* Man Governour of *Fluſhing*) fomented by thoſe that Treated this Match for her Majeſty: Which found, Pope *Pius* darted out the former mentioned Excommunication, till

then

then reſtrained through the mediation of *Philip*. I ſhall not determine whether it was Godly zeal or Worldly intereſt that prompted their Judgments to theſe accurate Counſels, ſince I find both in ſome part gratified by future ſucceſs: Though I ſee cauſe enough in the latter to imploy all the Brains, both of the Proteſtants and Papiſts in power about her; the one owning their lives to her well being, and the other Abby Lands to the continuance of it: For though Sir *John Parſons* told me he had ſeen a Bull amongſt Mr. *Shelden*'s Antiquities, *by which the Pope confirmed the Lands of the Church in the hands of their preſent poſſeſſours, provided they in their reſpects continued under his Obedience*, yet whether this might be ſafely truſted to, I leave in ſuſpence, and to their conſideration that may remember they were fifty years ago valued much below other Titles and Demeans.

12. The cauſe, It may be thought Intereſt as much as Love in her Privy Council that till *Leiceſter*'s days, none are found to have received Penſions from foreign Princes, or to play booty or deal Treacherouſly in his Imployments either at home or abroad: nor were honourable and gainful Offices during her abode at the Helm given to Men of no larger capacities than were meerly requiſite to the execution of the place; But beſtowed upon ſuch publick Spirits as were able to adviſe in the moſt crabbed affairs, by which the charge of their ſupport was born and the Common-weal ſerved with Men under a double Capacity. Now though we muſt yeild to *Solomon*, *that ſafety is to be found in a multitude of Counſellors*; Yet Secreſie is commonly abſent in all Aſſemblies, but where a few reſolve: for which and perfect Intelligence from abroad (the light and director of the bark of Prudence) if any Age before, I am ſure none ſince can be compared with the days of *Burleigh* and *Walſingham* in this particular; whoſe ſteps Archbiſhop *Bancroft* followed ſo cloſe, as by fomenting a difference between the Jeſuits and Regulars, he made

a breach in their Unity, the ſtrongeſt Argument they have to ſupport the Papacy; And illuminated by ſo clear a Judgment, did through their claſhing make ſo perfect an inſpection into the ſecular practices of the Conſiſtory in *Rome*, as he prevented many dangers might have other-ways fallen upon the Nation: For which *Blackwel*, the then Popiſh Metropolitan, lay under ſome ſuſpicion from the contrary Faction, how juſtly I know not. Yet have heard, that no Prieſt was landed any time in *England* but the Biſhop had a perfect Character of his temper and relations; The eaſier brought about by him that (in the eſtimation of the *Puritans*) owned moſt of the Tenets, being beſide no rigid perſecuter of any who had not in his compoſition the gall of Treaſon mixed with Religion: The Regulars being then in an high eſteem, becauſe their oppoſers the Jeſuits were about that time baniſhed *France*, and their Cells demoliſhed, with a Pyramid erected to their infamy, for an indeavour to Aſſaſſinate *Henry* the Fourth. And from this Indulgence of the Arch Biſhop grew more ſecurity than danger, becauſe ſuch Prieſts as were connived at (the moſt of other Orders) looked upon the Jeſuits as Enemies, and all new Comers of their own under a no milder Aſpect than intruders on their profit; And therefore the more inquiſitive after their Conditions, and if found Pragmatical, it was no hard matter to purchaſe their remove by the Mediation of one ſo near the Helm as the Biſhop was, who beſides the quality of Secreſie remaining ſo conſtant to his promiſe, as it was more ſafety than danger for them to rely upon his word. And that ſome cunning Seminaries did endeavour the monopolizing amongſt themſelves all the profit to be made by the *Engliſh* Catholicks, I have a preſumption of mine own from a Prieſt I met with on the other ſide the Water, who told me he lived far better during the Tyranny (as he was pleaſed to call it) of Queen *Elizabeth*, than ſince the Licence afforded under

King

King *James*, by which divers young Scholars of both the Univerſities were daily tempted into Orders, and many (reſtrained before out of love to their ſafety) did now go over in ſhoals, to the great detriment of the old ſtanders. Yet notwithſtanding the imcomparable diligence of this Prelate, under two Princes, for the preſervation of Peace and Unity, He was abominated by the Preciſer ſort, the heat of whoſe zeal appears the more unnatural, becauſe their mouths were furred with bitter and unſavoury Invectives, which followed him after the hand of Death had laid him out of the reach of all other favour but what is due to his deſert from Charity and Gratitude; Therefore to be ſtrongly preſumed the worſt malice could invent. And inſerted by me, according to the Mode of an Hiſtorian, whoſe Plough (for the ſake of Poſterity) I wiſh I were able to drive; However I am no ways correſpondent for the praiſe or blame due to any Verſes found here, ſuch as theſe,

Here lies My Lord's Grace at ſix and at ſeven;
And, if I do not lie, His Soul is in Heaven:

I wiſh with my heart it may be to his leeking.
Since all the World knows it was never his ſeeking.

Another.

Bancroft *was for Plays,*
Lean Lent, and Holy-days,
But now under-goes their Doom:

Had Engliſh Ladies ſtore,
Yet kept open a Back-door
To let in the Strumpet of Rome.

I confeſs I have heard him Characterred for a *Jovial* Doctor, but very Jealous of the Clergies Revenue, no

leſs than his Countries ſafety, which he endeavoured to bring about through a reduction of *Britanny* into one Form of Worſhip, by the train of *Calvin* moſt rigidly oppoſed: But the two contrary Factions at Court (one of them thinking all things fit to be deſtroyed, the other laboured to preſerve) did, upon the vacancy of every Biſhoprick, put one in ſuitable to their Humours that had the luck to prevail: The cauſe the preſent Incumbent did, like the Web of *Penelope* unravel what his Predeceſſor had with more policy and charity twiſted: By which means the Dioceſes of *Canterbury* and *York* were at one and the ſame time of contrary Judgments. And the beſt of Clergymen (driven into a medium by the ſcorching heat of the one ſide, and chill indifferency of the other) loſt their Labour and all hope of preferment in a vain indeavour for a Reconciliation, unpoſſible to be brought about, the one party being fomented by Hypocriſie to bear out their Ignorance, and the other from Power and a fear of reverting into the primitive Auſterity: which held ſo long in this unconſtant Viciſſitude, till what was continued meerly out of Policy at Court, did in a ſhort time branch forth in City and Country into divers popular differences, ſuitable to the mold of every head, and the intereſt of ſuch perſons as had the ſubtilty to fit them to their occaſions: *Zeal like Lead, being as ready to drop into Bullets, as to mingle with a Compoſition fit for Medicine.* So as in thoſe days it was unpoſſible for men in Power, but to be ſcandalous to one ſide or other.

13. Diſpatches from the Council Table (of which I have ſeen Volums) began and held on throughout in a plain and the ſame Stile, not ſeldom admitting of ſeveral Conſtructions, if of any interpretation at all where the buſineſs related to a thing whoſe conſequence could not eaſily be ſeen into; as appears at the beginning of all Treaties; and eſpecially in the two offers of Marriage with *France*, which the Queen managed with ſuch dexterity and ſecreſie, that wiſe *Walſingham* (as

(as appears by his Letters) through whose hands the whole buſineſs paſſed, did not know certainly whether ſhe was real or no: But in what was thought proper for Tranſaction, all things were plain drawn in Latine: This put together did much facilitate the Office of her Secretaries.

14. Now as Wiſdom and Secreſie appeared in her Council Chamber, ſo Hoſpitality, Charity and Splendor, were dilated over the whole Court; where, upon the leaſt acquaintance, all Strangers from the Noblemen to the Peaſant, were invited to one Table or other (of which ſhe kept abundance, wherever ſhe removed from one ſtanding houſe to another, unleſs ſhe returned to *White Hall* at night) the leaſt conſiderable ſuiting with three, four, or five hundred pounds *per annum* expenſe; And for Bread, Beer, and Wine, (commonly called by the name of Budge) though the Purveyors that brought it in, were called to ſtrict Accounts, ſuch as iſſued them out were rarely queſtioned, but in caſe they ſold it: And by this Generoſity the ordinary ſort of people were ſo endeared, as I have known ſome brag of their entertainment at Court twenty years after; ſuch like Dogs ſeldom biting thoſe that have once fed them, Though with the ſame meat they have been at the pains to catch themſelves; It coming all out of the Countrymans Barns or Yards, The Wine being little when Cuſtom was abated.

15. Yet though ſhe was thus plentifully provided of all things at home, ſhe did not ſeldom fetch an Entertainment at ſuch Grandees Houſes as were underſtood to be moſt popular: By which ſhe removed her Subjects eyes from intending wholly the influence of theſe inferiour Stars, and fixed them upon a greater ſplendor of her own: beſides her out-doing them in the Art of Popularity, acting to the life the Pageant of the People (which all Princes really are, and the wiſeſt the moſt Gaudy) from whence it is far more indearing to throw Flowers than Wild-fire: And if this her Affabi-

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lity did not work upon the Will, the greatneſs of their Expence did not fail to render them leſs able to hurt: And in caſe this was not ſufficient to moderate their ambitious thirſt after Popularity, ſhe found them diverſions in foreign Imployments, whither they were ſent Embaſſadors or Agents, by which their Eſtates were gelt, and the Owners rendred the leſs rampant and unable to maintain their former bewitching Humour of Hoſpitality; ſo as in Parliaments they became aſſertors of the Profit of the Crown, in hope to have ſuch debts refunded as had been contracted by themſelves in the ſervice of the State; whoſe honour ſhe preſerved at the loweſt expence that ever Prince did, and not ſeldom at their Charge who might otherwiſe have imployed their Revenues in fomenting Sedition.

16. The Parliament knowing not where to fix upon a Succeſſor to the Crown without the hazard of Religion, or danger of a Civil War; the Regent of *Scotland* having yet no Child, and being too ſtrongly ſupported from *France* to miſcarry under a Title ſo firmly built as the Catholicks maintained hers was to this Nation (if not in preſent) upon the death of the Queen, did in the firſt Petition they made, invite her Majeſty to take a Husband: In which they minded more their future, than preſent felicity, not ſo likely to reſult from a married as a ſingle Prince, whoſe expence cannot chuſe but ſwell proportionable to the Off-ſpring produced: And in this they were ſo moderate as to paſs by all mention of a Succeſſor, ever ungrateful to her ears during the whole Series of her Reign, and not ſeldom fatal to ſuch as were ſo hardy as to remove it: So as it coſt ſome dearer, and *Pigot* and *Wentworth* their Liberty, though they propoſed it in Parliament; The ſafety ſhe her ſelf found in the concealing her intent, out-voting the danger of a Civil War, which in all humane reaſon could not but impend the Nation, in caſe of her death: For whilſt ſhe obſerved this impartial neutrality, none could pretend cauſe of complaint.

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And in caſe any one had made Oſtentation of a Title before the People, ſhe had the reſt ready to aſperſe it; there remaining none free from Objections, the moſt legitimate in appearance paſſing for an Alien and ſo uncapable, or an Enemy and ſo incompetent to govern: It being as impoſſible to pleaſe, as dangerous to oppoſe the weakeſt intereſt of the Papiſt, Puritan or Proteſtant. But to this requeſt of her great Council (which ſhe could not hinder, being the deſire of the Court as well as the ſenſe of the Parliament) ſhe returned a ſtout, though but an uncertain Anſwer, as is legible in the common Chronicles, whoſe recitals I profeſs wilfully to ſhun, feeding my Pen rather with ſuch ſcraps as I have picked out of Letters and Diſcourſe, the Storehouſe of Tradition. Not ſo likely to flatter, if to lye, as the Writings of thoſe mean Contemporaries, that for the moſt part have imbarked their Pens in our *Engliſh* Affairs; who had ſtill ſome fear or hope at their Elbows ready to jog them towards the intereſt of the preſent or future Governors: Confeſſed by learned *Camden* himſelf, whoſe lines were directed by King *James*, and he led rather to vindicate the honour and integrity of his Mother, than to do right for a Miſtreſs, that had from a School-maſter raiſed him to a capacity of being the firſt King at Arms.

17. Her Sex did bear out many impertinences in her Words and Actions, *as her making Latine Speeches in the Univerſities*, and profeſſing her ſelf in publick a Muſe, then thought ſomething too Theatrical for a Virgin Prince, but eſpecially in her Treaties relating to Marriage; towards which ſome thought her uncapable by Nature, others too propenſe, as may be found in the black Relations of the Jeſuits, and ſome *French* and *Spaniſh Paſquilers*, that pretend to be more learned in the Art of Inſpection than wiſe *Henry* the Fourth their King, who in a jovial humour told a *Scotiſh* Marqueſs, *there were three things inſcrutable to intelligence:* 1. *Whether* Maurice *then Prince of* Orange (*who never fought Battle*

Battle, as he ſaid) was valiant in his perſon. 2. *What Religion himſelf was of.* 3. *Whether Queen* Elizabeth *was a Maid or no:* Which may render all reports dubious that come from meaner Men: Yet it may be true that the Ladies of her Bed-Chamber denied to her Body the Ceremony of Searching and Imbalming, due to Dead Monarchs: But that She had a Son bred in the State of *Venice*, and a Daughter I know not where nor when, with other ſtrange Tales that went on her, I neglect to inſert, as fitter for a Romance, than to mingle with ſo much truth and integrity as I profeſs: In which if I am in any thing miſtaken, let it be laid on mine own want of knowledge, or their Ignorance that miſled me. This I may ſafely atteſt, that the ſmalleſt chip of that incomparable Inſtrument of Honour, Peace and Safety to this now unhappy Nation, would have been then valued by the People of *England* above the loftieſt branch in the *Calydonian* Grove. Who as ſhe was the choiceſt Artiſt in King-craft that ever handled the Scepter in this Northern Climate, ſo ſhe went beyond all her Anceſtors in adapting to her ſervice the moſt proper Tools, in whoſe fitteſt application ſhe was ſeldom miſtaken; The only cauſe can be given why ſhe ſo rarely changed her Secret Counſel, eſpecially thoſe ſhe made privy to any of her laſt reſults, which did not weakly contribute to her ſafety: Such reſembling Keys, that once loſt or miſplaced, no future ſecurity remains but in changing the Lock. And though this hath already fallen under my conſideration, yet I am forced to reſume it again in the Vindication of the choice of ſome Officers about the middle of her Reign, accuſed ſince for weakneſs; which if not a miſtake made by Envy, or for want of an exact underſtanding of the Parties uſe; ſome being placed after the Council grew numerous, only to tell tales and ballance Votes ſhe diſliked in publick, without the leaſt underſtanding of what was thought neceſſary to ſucceed in private, a multitude of hands adding dignity to Inland affairs, it being

ing ordinary with the generality to eſteem wiſdom according to meaſure rather than weight. And amongſt theſe few can be found out of her Kindred or ſuch Friends as her Fathers Honour or her own Gratitude for kindneſs ſhewed during the life of her Siſter, kept her from excluding them the Liſts, though the ſtronger heads of others were wholly imployed when her occaſions called her to grapple with any difficulties. Nor was there more than the honour and profit of Lord High Admiral intruſted with the Earl of *Nottingham*, but executed by a Commiſſion ſelected out of the ableſt Seamen that Age did afford: he being imployed for his fidelity, known to be impregnable in relation to Corruption: Neither was there a goodlier man for Perſon in *Europe*, as my eyes did witneſs though they met not with him before he was turned towards the point of eighty, no youth being more celebrated for gallantry and good fortune than his. I confeſs that in his Age he Married a young Lady allied to King *James*, which ſet his Wiſdom many degrees back in the repute of the world.

But to diſcharge this cavil from any farther diſpute, No Prince then extant took an exacter eſtimate of her Subjects abilities to ſerve her; or made a deeper inſpection into their Aptitude Nature and Humours; to which with a rare dexterity ſhe fitted her favours and their Imployments. As may be inſtanced in *Francis Vere*, a Man nobly deſcended, *Walter Raleigh* exactly qualified, with many others ſet apart in her Judgment for military ſervices, whoſe Titles ſhe never raiſed above Knighthood; ſaying, *when importuned to make General* Vere *a Baron, that in his proper Sphere and in her eſtimation he was above it already*; therefore all could be expected from ſuch an addition, would be the entombing of the Spirit of a brave Souldier in the corps of a leſs ſightly Courtier; and by tempting him from his charge, hazard that repute upon a Carpet, his valour had dearly purchaſed him in the Field. Nor could

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ſhe endure to ſee her Subjects wear the Titles of a Foreign Prince; the cauſe ſhe committed Sir *Mathew Arundel* of *Warder* in the *Weſt*, for accepting from the *German Caſar* the Dignity of a Count; and denied Sir *Philip Sidney* the Crown of *Poland*.

18. The example of modeſty her Souldiers expreſt in the *Netherlands*, rarely found amongſt Auxiliaries, with her refuſal to own or impoſe the name of her *Vaſſals* upon the *Dutch*, gained her a huge confidence amongſt her Neighbours, that her complexion was pure from the contagion of any more deſtructive Ambition, than the preſervation of her Honour and thoſe Nations her Birth no leſs than Deſert had preſented her with: which made them unapter to offend her; none but Catholicks, and they for the moſt part Prieſts, wiſhing her remove, as not knowing where to find a Prince leſs offenſive and more debonair; the cauſe many Treaſons concluded in the loſs of their Heads that projected them, or ſought to put them in execution. Yet in this her Temperament of deſire in Relation to Augmentation of Empire, her prudence ſo minded her of the Nations future ſafety, as that Friends under perſecution, do not ſeldom face about upon the approach of Security and Power: Wherefore ſhe made ſure of *Fluſhing* and *Brill*; which in regard of ſituation were ſo full a Content of their whole ſtrength, as the Application of it could not, upon their miſcarriage in Relation to the Catholick King, or their own future Ingratitude, obliterate the advantage that *England* might make of that Revolt, though the money lent covered it in Reaſon and Juſtice from much of the envy it might have contracted, had ſhe imployed force or fraud in their purchaſe. Nor did the receiving from the hands of the *French* Hugenots, *Haver de Grace*, (upon a like exigency) ſignifie more ambition than the reduction of *Calis*; which might have undoubtedly ſucceeded, had ſhe not according to her uſual Cuſtom ſtarved the Deſign for want of Money and Men; a

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fault the more excuſable, becauſe it relates to the tender care and reſpect had of her Subjects Lives and Eſtates. And here by the way it is worth noting, That the *Hollanders* could not ſo eaſily have attained Freedom, but through the help of the Miniſters of *Spain*, who by eradicating the ancient Nobility and Gentry reduced them into a Parity, and ſo by conſequence made them capable of Unity, the Nurſe of all Combinations.

19. Amongſt all her Minions none (according to report) bad fairer for the Queens Bride-bed than *Leiceſter*, who, finding by the continual high beating of her heart, that ſhe ſhould never allow of ſo great an abatement of Sovereignty as a Match with a Foreign Prince, could not but in Honour have made the Sails of his expectation ſomewhat ſwelled therewith, would in her Gaieties (which till the death of *Eſſex* were very frequent) ask her, 'If ſhe did not think ſhe had ſome 'Subject of her own, able (though it muſt be confeſ-'ſed none worthy) to make an Heir for the King-'dom of *England*? Since her Father was known to do 'it, yet a Man, and ſo uncapable of any eclipſe of 'Honour by the higheſt Princes; Neither did his of-'ten repeated condeſcentions in making Subjects his 'after-wives breed him that danger that he ſuſtained 'by the firſt glorious Match(according to expectation) 'that he made with the Siſter of *Charles* the Emperor, 'which all the Prudence he owned could not unravel 'without ſtraining the Cords of Government, if not 'Conſcience, by that deſperate leap he made out of 'the Church of *Rome*, and ſeparating himſelf from 'the Union of other Princes. Nor did *Philip* the Se-'cond prove more happy to your Siſter for the pre-'ſent, nor to the future expectation of the Nation 'that lacked nothing to entail Servitude upon them 'but an Heir of her Body; which yet had not been 'wanting, according to report, but ſupplied by a 'Cuſhion, but that the generoſity of the *Spaniard*, and

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'the perſwaſion of a better Succeſs from your Embra-
'ces (which he hopes flattered him with) did for the
'preſent make him to deteſt it: The cauſe it was af-
'ter voiced to be a Falſe Conception. All which I have heard often, and read ſomewhere, though the Author hath eſcaped my Memory: Nor could *Leiceſter* render his Bed vacant to a more thriving end (as he rumor'd to have done) than to make room for the greateſt and moſt fortunate Princeſs the Sun ever looked upon without bluſhing in relation to Oppreſſion or Blood: This may be allowed upon the Score of probability, that his Lordſhip would hardly have been ſo rampant anduncivilwithout ſome extraordinary invitation, as to draw a blow in her preſence from another Privy Counſellor, more zealous poſſibly than diſcreet, to whom when theQueen ſaid, *He had forfeited his hand*; his reply was, *he hoped ſhe would ſuſpend that judgment, till the Traitor had loſt his Head, who did better deſerve it:* But this accident bordering ſo near the Confines of her Honour did admit no farther debate; it being no other than ſhe in a leſs ſprightful humour might have given him her ſelf, none being more flexible to all kind of Jollities than the minds of Princes when unbent from publick Affairs. Now whether theſe *Amoroſities* were natural,or meerly poetical and perſonated, I leave to Conjecture, that may ever find imployment in the Actions of Kings. This I am ſure of, theſe gaudy gleams,of favour ſhone not long upon any ſingle perſon, but were ſoon eclipſed upon the Apparition of freſh Sparks. And here to conclude any farther diſcourſe of *Leiceſter*, he was a man of eminency for Perſon, but branded by his Enemies (of which he had not a few) for a defect in Wiſdom or Integrity during his abode in the *Netherlands* where with no good ſucceſs he executed the place of the Queens General.

20. This Princeſs uſed never to precipitate a Retaliation in the reference to Foreign Injuries: by which her Enemies had leiſure given them to conſider of a Repara-

Reparation, no leſs than her ſelf of Revenge in caſe of Contumacy, and time to put her ſtrength in the better Array; Manifeſt throughout her whole expedition into *Scotland*, where though ſhe had fomented ſuch a Party of the Nobility of that Nation as were able to receive and ſecure a force of her own, which upon their interceſſion ſhe ſent, yet was it without any Commiſſion to fight or take notice of the Crown of *France*, from whom the *Scotch* Queen was immediately aſſiſted, but only againſt the Houſe of *Guiſe* that were meerly inſtrumental in behalf of their Siſter *Mary*. Contrary to the moſt ordinary practice of our leſs adviſed Monarchs, who to gratifie the Clamor of a few embarked Merchants, and to vindicate an honour capable of the diminution, but from a Total neglect or viſible incapacity of being ever able to right it ſelf, do, like inconſiderate Bees, in a raſh and paſſionate Diſtemper, by miſimploying their Stings (all the natural force they have) render themſelves (for the future) weak and contemptible, by an unſeaſonable demonſtration of the worſt they can do; which, till experimented, is for the moſt part imagined greater than in truth it is.

21. Her frequent Calling Parliaments, and not ſtaying till ſhe was compelled, kept them in ſo moderate a Temper, as they were more awful to the Country than the Court; where ſome grievances might be connived at, but never approved, ſo the eaſier accounted for when called to queſtion: nor do I find her Conceſſion granted to any Statute for her peoples good, by way of exchange, but purely out of grace, and for the moſt part before it was deſired: Wiſely projecting, *that when Neceſſity is the Chapman, the Market doth naturally run low.* Therefore being chaſt from all other intruſion upon the Nations Liberty, but what reſpected common ſafety and the honour of the Crown; ſhe was able without murmur to commit ſuch of the Houſe of Commons as preſumed to meddle or enquire who was

moſt fit or had the beſt right to ſucceed her. Neither was ſhe leſs tender and jealous of Diſputes in Religion, an Apple in the eye of Government, which if once ſuffered to roll and grow wanton, will render the Peoples minds unſteady betwixt the obedience they owe to God and their Prince: fondly imagining the firſt may be gratified at the prejudice of the latter. Zeal being the Flint, and Ambition the Steel out of which the Sparks of Rebellion have in our days kindled the moſt fatal miſchiefs; which ſhe kept during her Reign from claſhing, by denying the Parliament all farther debate of Eccleſiaſtical Ceremonies, and ſhewing them their no leſs injuſtice than Levity to queſtion what they had ſo firmly eſtated in her Perſon, who was yet reſolved to introduce no more than what was lately confirmed by themſelves, or their Fathers; ſo notorious to all, as the Doctrine profeſſed moſt generally in *England* bore in Foreign Nations the name of Parliament-Faith. Nor was this her prudent reſtraint looked upon with any great reluctancy by any but *Cartwright* and ſome ſuch addle Heads, whoſe Judgments were trimmed according to the mode of *Amſterdam*; of whoſe diſtempered paſſions the Queen made ſo much advantage, as to keep the Church humble and quiet whilſt ſhe gelt their Sees by exchanges, and other Mortifications of their power, and Eſtates, which during her life were not ſuffered to blaze out in their Eccleſiaſtical Offices, as ſince they did: Which is the only viſible cauſe can be given, why ſo much worth as reſided in this Princeſs is ſo little celebrated. And all this wheeled about with the leſs diſturbance of the higher Orbs, becauſe few oppoſers of Church Diſcipline were in her days eligible, or ſo much in favour with the People, being for the moſt part oppreſſors, or indicted of Hypocriſie; the moſt eminent for Parts, Titles, or Eſtates (as it falls out in relation to new Schiſms) growing weary or full ſatisfied with the profit already gained by the great leap themſelves, or their

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Anceſtors had made from *Rome*: Nor were the poorer ſort better apaid when they compared the preſent Hoſpitality with that reported of Old before the Religious Houſes were demoliſhed, the cauſe I have not ſeldom my ſelf heard them wiſh a return to the Catholick Church under the Title of the Old Learning: Not ſo well pleaſed with the ſaving Doctrine of the Proteſtant profeſſion, as they formerly were under the more liberal diſtributions of the Monaſteries. Nor was it the guiſe of theſe prudent times to diſſolve Parliaments in diſcontent (by which a quarrel ſeemed to be picked with the whole Nation) but to adjourn them in Love. Wherefore having to do with the ſame Men, ſhe was ſeldom compelled to alter her courſe; it being unpoſſible that a Prince who had her Peoples affection in groſs, ſhould find it wanting in their Repreſentative. And it is no leſs remarkable, that in ſo long a Reign ſhe never was forced (as I have heard) to make uſe of her Negative Power; But had ſtill ſuch a Party in the Houſe of Lords as were able to ſave her that labour. Neither was ſhe ever terrified by fear, to beſtow Office or Honour upon any out of no other reaſon than to draw them from the contrary party; unleſs Seminaries, and of this ſhe grew at laſt weary, ſaying once in publick, *ſhe would not ranſom her ſelf from Enemies at the price of their Preferments that lov'd her.* But in caſe ſhe found any likely to interrupt her occaſions, ſhe did ſeaſonably prevent him by a Chargeable Employment abroad, or putting him upon ſome Service at home ſhe knew leaſt grateful to the people: contrary to a falſe Maxim, ſince practiſed with far worſe ſucceſs, by ſuch Princes who thought it *better Husbandry to buy off Enemies, than reward Friends:* which once obſerved, it tempted ſome that were ambitious to lay out the ſtrongeſt of their endeavours againſt their Prince only in hope to be bought off. And for ſuch as deſired a farther recoyl from the Pope than was thought fit to be made, they were not ſo numerous or well agreed yet,

as to actuate any disturbance, being for the most part poor; and, as all Schismaticks do at first, glorying more in Suffering, than in any other opposition but what they are able to raise with their Pens or Tongues, in which they were no less lavish than bold and indiscreet: yet meeting from the most in power only blame and contempt, they sought out new Habitations for themselves and vents for their opinions in *Amsterdam*, where the *Dutch* allowed a general Mart for all Religions (the Papacy excepted) without any nicer limitation than obedience to the Magistrate in things purely Civil: and by this they did not only draw much of our Coyn thither, but our Manufactures of Weaving, Dying, Fulling, Spinning and Dressing of Cloth, Stuff, *&c.* Easie to have been prevented, by affording them an *Amsterdam* in *England*, some small City of Refuge, over which her Majesty might have set a discreet Governour with a Garrison, whose charge they would willingly have born, besides the payment of a large excise for their folly. Nor was there any danger in this, it being unpossible to make them unanimous: But the *Hierarchy* had been so bitten already by the Covetousness of Princes, and the sharp and discerning Learning of the Laity, who unintersted in the general Controversies might have moderated to their disadvantage or set on foot a farther and more rigid Reformation (which, though a terror to those in power, is most delightful to the ears of the People) That they perswaded the Queen, it was *against Prudence and Piety to give them harbour*; yet in the mean time connived at Lectures and weekly Preaching, through which they let in more by the Postern, than they could croud out at the great Gate. Wherefore, this found out, Wisdom should rather have left the attempt in the Hands of Time, the Moderator of all things disputable, than rendered them incorrigible through Opposition, the promoter of Error. I am the larger in this, lest posterity should be to seek for the Foundation of the most Destructive Revolution

volution the Sun ever held Light to, which was begun by Thouſands who never intended it, and wrought the ruin of that both ſides labour'd to preſerve, with an exceſſive advantage to ſuch as could neither expect or deſerve it.

22. Amongſt the greateſt things laid to her charge, as caſt behind the door of neglect, was the conduct of the affairs of *Ireland*; a place lying, all her Halcyon days, under ſo great a contempt, (before *England*'s leſs future felicity had brought it to eſteem) that wiſe *Walſingham* thought it no Treaſon to wiſh it Buried in the Sea, conſidering the charge it brought: yet ſhe kept the Pale in good order, not ſuffering the *Spaniſh* Party to grow more potent in the *North*, than convenient to conſume his forces and divert him from nearer and more dangerous attempts. It being unpoſſible for her, without appearing grievous to her People (a Rock ſhe chiefly Studied to avoid) at one time to maintain ſo dreadful a Navy at Sea, and Foment the *Dutch* and *French*, towards whoſe Aſſiſtance ſhe was called by a louder Neceſſity, than to render a Nation quite deſolate; None being willing during her Life to exchange the preſent Government of a Natural Princeſs, for the leſs happy Tyranny of a *Viceroy*; of which the moſt did ſtudy more their reſpective grandure by extending the War, than the eaſe of the Inhabitants and leſſening the Queens expence: Till the Noble Lord *Mountjoy* was imployed, who had no other deſign than the concluſion of the work, which he had not yet ſo eaſily brought about but that the *Spaniards* found themſelves betrayed through the covetouſneſs and cowardiſe of the Natives, that for ſmall Sums would ſell not only ſuch Foreigners as came to help them, but their neareſt Relations: Wherefore unlikely to keep faith with their Prince, being of ſo falſe and unconſtant a Nature, as by a continual relapſing into Seditious practices they did with the ſame breath demand Pardon, and yet panted to accompliſh ſomething worthy of Death. Nor was it poſ-

ſible to reduce them to more Civility (the Inhabitants being of ſuch an amphibious education) but by curing the Boggs and Faſtneſſes, or building more Caſtles and Garriſons than ſhe could ſpare Mony or Men from her other occaſions to furniſh: But that which raiſed the greateſt difficulty in relation to an abſolute ſubjugation of this Province, was the power the Prieſts exerciſed over the Natives Conſciences, who not able to reſolve themſelves, were implicitly led by their perſwaſions to caſt off the *Engliſh* Yoke and diſtreſs the Queen, who in the *Roman* dialect was ſtiled Heretick, and in whoſe favour no compact could be made, much leſs kept without Mortal Sin in the performer, eſpecially upon the offer of any (though but ſeeming) advantage. Nor was the defection of *Ireland* one of the ſmalleſt inconveniences that reſulted to this Crown from the Proteſtant Profeſſion.

23. In this miſerable Nation, that wanted not only Wiſdom and Virtue to purchaſe her own Freedom, but a Competency of patience quietly to ſubmit to the *Engliſh* Civility, the former mentioned Earl of *Eſſex* buried his Fortune. For after his more ſubtil Enemies, prompted by malice and his own deſtructive Ambition, had placed him ſo far off, it proved no hard matter (working upon her Majeſties Age and Parſimonious humour) to diſtreſs him, for want of Coyn and other neceſſary Proviſions for ſo expenſive an expedition which caſt him upon diſadvantagious Treaties with *Tyrone*, the Capital Rebel, and might occaſion the private diſcourſe he had with him alone on Horſe-back in the midſt of a River: which hinted to the Queen the firſt cauſe of that fatal ſuſpicion, *He might through the aſſiſtance of the* Iriſh *and* Engliſh *Army* (already wholly at his devotion) *attempt ſome novelty*; a diſmal whiſper the contrary Faction did hourly inſpire her withal: And to give it a deeper Tincture of probability, Sir *Robert Cecil* gained leave of the Queen to advertiſe *Eſſex*, firſt of her being paſt hope, and after of her Death, ſtopping

ping in the mean time all ſhips elſe, but what came loaded with this fatal intelligence: And to ſecure her Perſon no leſs than his own, in caſe he took the wiſer Council of his Friends to land in *Wales* with all the power he could raiſe, the *Engliſh* Militia were put in a poſture of defence: of which no uſe was made; for the Earls Compoſition having always participated more of Truth and Loyalty to his Sovereign, with more zeal to the Proteſtant Religion, than prudence or Reaſon of State, He, not only contrary to the Will of his Friends, but beyond the higheſt hopes of his Enemies, came over attended with ſome few Gentlemen; and in this naked Condition finding the report falſe, he caſt himſelf habited as a Traveller at the feet of his Miſtreſs, whom after he never met (unleſs ſince in heaven) being preſently confin'd, yet to no ſtricter Priſon than his Chamber, and under no other guard but the obedience he owed to his Sovereigns Commands, who tho' daily importuned, could not be brought to ſign a Warrant for any ſeverer Commitment, till after *his paſſage through the City*; In which he did not only exceed the extent of his own ordinary raſhneſs, but the higheſt &moſt extraordinary Plots of his Enemies. And thus was the Earl ſnatched out of the Arms of his Miſtreſs, and torn from the hearts of the people that were his Servants, by the ſubtilty of his Enemies, and in the ſight of both brought to an untimely death: it appearing no leſs wonder that Prince and Subject did meet in their affections, than that they ſhould both be ſo quiet Spectators of his ruin. But as God ſhew'd in his death the weakneſs of the arm of fleſh, ſo not long after he declared as plainly the power of his Juſtice in a ſtrict Account he took from thoſe that were the principal Agents in it: For after the blow given, the Queen, preſaging by a multitude of tears ſhed for him, the great drought was likely to appear in the eyes of her Subjects, when the hand that ſigned the Warrant for it ſhould be cut off, fell into a deep Melancholy, whereof ſhe died not long after.

And for the Fame that immediately followed her (if multitudes were not foully miſtaken) ſhe was more beholding to her Succeſſors miſcarriages in the general opinion, than any popular eſteem attending her to the Grave: her death being reported to proceed from an occaſion that would have been thought ridiculous in an ordinary Lady, much more in a perſon of her magnitude: But ſuch as take Princes for other than Men, ſhew they never ſaw them in true light: who, like the Gods of the Heathen, cannot in their Actions or Speeches during Life be diſcerned from ordinary Mortals but by the Worſhip given them; being ſo remote from owning any real Divinity, as with the Crown they put on greater frailties than they do diveſt: For during the critical minute of the Queens ſtrongeſt affection (which was upon *Eſſex* his return from *Cales*) he had importuned her for ſome ſignal token, which might aſſure him, that in his abſence (to which his own Genius, no leſs than the reſpect he bare to the promotion of her honour, and obedience to her Commands, did daily prompt him) his Enemies (of whom he had many about the Chair of State) ſhould not through their Malice or Subtilty diſtreſs him, or render him leſs or worſe deſerving in her eſteem: upon this, in a great deal of familiarity, ſhe preſented a Ring to him; which after ſhe had by Oath indued with a power of freeing him from any danger or diſtreſs his future miſcarriage, her Anger, or Enemies Malice could caſt him into, ſhe gave it him, with a promiſe, that at the firſt ſight of it all this and more if poſſible ſhould be granted. After his Commitment to the Tower he ſent this Jewel to Her Majeſty, by the then Counteſs of *Nottingham*, whom Sir *Robert Cecil* kept from delivering it: This made the Queen think her ſelf ſcorned, a Treaſon againſt her Honour, and therefore not unlikely to be voted by the Pride of ſo great a Lady more Capital than that pretended againſt her Perſon, which power doth rarely ſuffer to ſcape unpuniſhed: beſides he had been tempted

tempted through paſſion to ſay, or his Enemies to deviſe, *That ſhe now doated, and owned a mind no leſs crooked than her Body*; A high blaſphemy againſt ſuch a divine Beauty, as Flatterers, the Idolizers of Princes, had enſhrined her in. And from theſe his misfortunes, led on by the weakneſs of Jealouſie and Age had bred in her, his Maligners took advantage, ſo as his Head was off before diſcretion, love or pity had leaſure to dictate. *The Ring might be miſcarried and the former Relation falſe.* But the Lady *Nottingham* coming to her death bed, and finding, by the daily ſorrow the Queen expreſſed for the loſs of *Eſſex*, her ſelf a principal agent in his deſtruction, could not be at reſt till ſhe had diſcovered all, and humbly implored mercy from God and forgiveneſs from her earthly Sovereign: who did not only refuſe to give it, but having ſhook her as ſhe lay in her Bed, ſent her accompanied with moſt fearful Curſes to a higher Tribunal. Not long after the Queens weakneſs did appear mortal, haſtened by the wiſhes of many, that could not in reaſon expect pardon for a fault they found ſhe had ſo ſeverely puniſhed in her ſelf, as to *take comfort in nothing after.* But upon all occaſions of ſigning Pardons would upbraid the movers for them with the haſty Anticipation of that brave Man's end, not to be expiated in relation to the Nations loſs by any future endeavour, much leſs ſo unſeaſonable an uncharitableneſs to a dying Lady.

24. After *Eſſex* was thus laid by, the Total management of ſtate Affairs, fell to Sir *Robert Cecil* in right of Wiſdom, who free from Competition became bold enough to inform the Queen, that *too many years had been already lapſed, and the peoples quiet hazarded by her delay, in not fixing upon one certain Succeſſour: Nothing remaining wanting, but her Conceſſion, to free the Nation from a Civil War, in declaring the King of* Scots *her lawful Heir, who beſides an immediate right, had the greateſt power at hand to quell the hopes of all contrary Pretenders, at that time more than a few; having long been imboldened either through*

through her Majesties Indulgence or Prudence, an Artifice dangerous for her people, and not unpossibly now destructive to her self, the love of whom was by good Government for forty years, so deeply rooted in her Subjects, as it could be buried in nothing but her grave. Nor did he alone beat hear ears with these sounds, no less terrible to her Age at that day, than they had been formerly ungrateful to her youth, but the generality of all about her; there remaining after *Essex* remove, no Faction at Court able to rescue any from the present or future revenge of this Man, with whom the most did comply for fear of having their hopes blasted by this Northern Sun that began to rise proportionable to the declension of the Queens health. The truth of which the most incredulous may find throughout the whole Arraignment of *Cobham*, *Gray* and *Raleigh*, professed Antagonists to *Essex*, under whose shelter they might have been protected in relation to their cause, though by them imprudently managed. This proves it no great hyperbole to affirm, the Queen did not only bury Affection, but her Power in the Tomb of *Essex*, who having the Love of the People would execute without fear any Command, which they wanting durst not undertake: The cause *Cecil* thought it more prudence to rely upon the promise of a Prince his Father had made Motherless, than in the forgiveness of a multitude whose odium he had by many proceedings contracted; But especially in being instrumental in the Death of *Essex*, and those hopeful young Gentlemen that lost their Lives and Fortunes with him: Amongst whom was Sir *Henry Lee*, for only wishing well to the three Earls in the Tower, and another executed in *Smithfield* for writing the News of their Apprehension to his Father that was out of *London*. But not to exceed the design of this piece which was not to asperse any, especially one allied so nearly to my Grand-Mother, and a Family now rendered Illustrious by two Earldoms and a number of glorious Matches; I shall relate only his wise endeavour

deavour to make *James* ſucceed, by whom he was courted with many Letters, and larger promiſes than, as I have heard, were ever performed, and other propoſals made, amongſt which was a Treaty of Peace with *Spain*, paſſionately deſired of the *Scottiſh* King, who by this grateful Service thought to muzzle the Mouths of the Jeſuits, and to have his offers of Connivance more ſecretly and ſucceſfully preſented at *Rome*: And upon the ſame ſcore, *Tyrone*'s Pardon was moved to the Queen, and though at firſt refuſed by her with high diſdain, yet after brought about for want of ſtrength and Counſel to oppoſe it. Nor was an Inquiſition after the Will of *Henry* the 8th. omitted, which a *Curſitor* did about that time juſtifie he had inrolled, though then not to be found, having before been taken off the File by ſome as ſmall Friends to the *Scottiſh* Title as any other but their own; *Hartfords*, *Huntingtons*, *&c.* being then rife in every Man's diſcourſe. But to avoid all ſemblance of triumph over a Right already under the weight of the ſevereſt misfortune: I ſhall conclude with *the moſt happy condition this unparallel'd Princeſs left the Kingdom of* England *in.*

25. It had no conſiderable Enemy beſides the Catholick King: And his power ſo maimed by the frequent blows received from her *Maritime* Militia, that he ſought Peace in a poſture far below the uſual Pride and Rhodomontado-Gallantry of that Nation; apparent in the rich Donatives beſtowed on all about King *James* who were any way likely to farther or obſtruct it. As for the wild *Iriſh* (a term that Age beſtowed on the Rebels) they were daily found dead in Bogs and Woods with Graſs in their Mouths, giving no farther trouble to the Engliſh Souldiers (at her Death not numerous, many having quitted the imployment out of grief for their General) than to burn and ſpoil the Corn and other Proviſions of the Natives; far eaſier done, than they overtaken in their Faſtneſſes and Bogs, impaſſable to our Army. The *French* were by Obligation wound

wound up at leaſt to a neut[illegible]lity, if not in Policy bound to aſſiſt us in caſe the War had gone on with *Spain*: *Henry* the Fourth's former Defection, though covered with a late formal Converſion, having yet not ſo ſtrongly eſtated him in the affection of *Rome* as to make him diſpiſe the Engliſh Alliance or exchange it for any in judgment leſs remote from the Pope: or in caſe of his death or forgetfulneſs ſhe had the *Hugonots* to Friend, who in all walled Towns prayed for her in publick, owning her for little leſs than their Princeſs under the Title of a Protectreſs. Though the *Dutch* were no leſs hers by Intereſt than Gratitude, yet leſt proſperity ſhould in a reſty Humour ſtrain theſe Cords, her hands were ſtrengthened by Cautionary Towns, which did not only bridle them, but abate much of the danger our Merchants were in from thoſe remaining under the Crown of *Spain*; Not ſo much recruited about this time by the reduction of *Oſtend* after three years ſiege, as weakened by the former loſs of *Sluce* in a far leſs conſiderable time. As for *Denmark*, *Sueden* and other Nations that ordinary Calculation hath ſeated Eaſt of us, ſhe held good correſpondence with them, but lay obnoxious to no other inconveniences from them, than what ſhe ſuſtained by the Froſt, Snow and tedious Weather the Vicinity of their Icy Coaſts uſeth to infeſt more happy Climates withal.

26. Nor can ſhe appear leſs Lovely, wiſe and Succeſsful at home, to any that is able to fix his eyes upon ſo great a Radiancy as did compaſs the Head of this Princeſs, without the dark Veil of prejudice, not hitherto drawn from before the Face of this Nation by the viſible indeavours of many. Compariſons being apt to raiſe no leſs Odium at home than envy abroad. For through the Series of her Reign, ſhe kept Parliaments, the pulſe of this Nation, in ſuch a Temper as no ſigns appeared either of Anarchy or Tyrannical Oppreſſion; her Government having been handed to the people with that ſweetneſs, that it was eſteemed of no

leſs

leſs advantage to them, than their obedience brought Honour to her: under whom the Crown remained in ſuch Credit, as the Exchequer was eſteemed equal ſecurity with the Exchange; The Tellers of that Court being as ready to iſſue out Moneys, as thoſe that had Debentures were willing to receive it. And if any contrary practice ſince brings the truth of this into ſuſpence, let the Proverb *As ſure as Check* bail me from the leaſt ſuſpicion of Hyperbole. Her Lands, of which ſhe had a vaſt proportion, were loaden with Timber fit for all imployments, lying ready upon occaſion either to raiſe a Navy or Money to pay Souldiers or Mariners. Nor was her Treaſury quite empty, or the Crown burdened with any conſiderable Debts, but what a Parliament would without murmur have refunded; No cauſe of Jealouſie remaining in relation to an incroachment upon their Liberty or Eſtates, ſince ſhe did not extend to the leaſt general prejudice her own unqueſtioned intereſt in the perquiſites of the Crown; So as her Parks, Foreſts and Chaſes were rather a relief than burthen to the Subject, it being then as rare to find a Man of quality denied Veniſon, as to hear of one (if not too intemperate) puniſhed for ſtealing it. And as the Juſtice in Eyre was moderate in his Courts that related only to the preſervation of Game; So thoſe in *Weſtminſter-Hall* were as careful to diſtribute Equity and Right: Or, if in her time ſome Cuſhions in Chancery, Chequer and Court of Wards were taken with the Moth of Corruption, it was after her Inſpection failed her, for want of a contrary Faction truly to inform, and no propenſity in her Nature to protect ſuch courſes. The ordinary Plea uſed after, *of ſelling Dear becauſe they bought ſo*, being void the moſt of her days; in which no viſible Bribes for Offices were offered or accepted but what reſulted from favour or deſert. The Church in her days lay not disfigured in the filth of Profaneneſs, nor was it dawbed by the varniſh of Hypocriſie: Ceremony and Sabbath (the ordinary

nary pretences for Sedition) being decently not rigidly commanded or obſerved. So as the wall-eyed blanchers at them were followed more out of reproach than approbation; And might have been ſo ſtill, had not the State rendered them more conſiderable by their notice, than really they were: fondly imagining the Hatred found in ſucceeding Parliaments to the Papiſts reſulted from a Puritanical affection; when it was for a long time in the moſt a fear of ſhaking the Titles of Abby Lands, or a deſire to free the Laity, in all things temporal and mulctable, out of the hands of the Church; who about the ſetting of this glorious Planet became ſomething more red and ſevere, than ſuited with a Calling no better ſupported: For though zeal in the Clergy may Byaſs men towards Religious Duties, yet it hath often been found ſo much to alter the Gate of the Rabble, as they have quite forſaken the end of all Profeſſions which is obedience to God and their Governours; And inclined to more uncouth and deſtructive Opinions, than an open and unſuborned Temper in Religion was ever yet found guilty of.

27. Thus I may have in part expiated for the neglect, if not Malice obſervable from the moſt Relations concerning this Lady; No leſs than vindicated my own Gratitude, (Whoſe Grand-Father and Father did both injoy a quiet, happy and plentiful Fortune under her) though in a ſtile and method far below her merit, as beſt appears by the Bonefires and loud Acclamations uſed ſtill by the people upon the day of her Inauguration. The felicity of which was never ſince matched, nor have we had yet any cauſe to hope it will be, eſpecially during my Life, which began under this beloved Princeſs.

Traditional
MEMOIRS
ON THE
REIGN
OF
King James.

TO THE

READER.

SInce Age, though ſomething Early, hath now overtaken me, anticipated through a number of Infirmities and no fewer diſcontents, it is not probable I ſhould go long unſerved by that Fatal Supœna *we all are liable to, through our Fathers Concupiſcence, Noleſs than a Reciprocal Neceſſity to leave Elbow-room for our own; wherefore at preſent compelled by uſual, yet far leſs grateful Diverſions, to put a Stop upon the following Diſcourſe (which though defective and imperfect may not unpoſſibly be owned for mine, by ſuch as are well acquainted with the Stile) I take my ſelf obliged out of that tender reſpect, all naturally carry towards a fair Repute, (which will perhaps prove the argument of a time may happen many ages after mine is ſpent) not to ſuffer it to come into the World Speechleſs; which I look upon as none of the leaſt misfortunes, however it may be reckoned amongſt the moſt Innocent, The Tongue ſuppplying the ſame place in Man, a Sting is found to do in a Serpent. Nor is it likely any thing ſo general as this, ſhould ſcape wounding by ſuch Dart, which renders all endeavours to frame it a ſufficient Paſport not only difficult, but merely impoſſible: being quite diveſted of the patched Coat of Antiquity (it not bearing ſo much as the facing of any others Cuſtom but my own) no leſs than the janglings of Novelties relating to Faith; whoſe Apparitions and Sounds are only able to raiſe up the Prick eared attentions of theſe Times, that neither regard the middle aged* Philoſophers, *nor anci-*

ent Prophets, *farther than they are* (like *Blind horſes*) *able to bring Griſt to their own Mills: by whom Tradition is held and perſecuted for a Vagabond, Though the Bible it ſelf, that hath hung ſo long at their Girdles, as it is become an aſſiſtant to the Sword, had for ſome Centuries no better covering than this Ark; into which the generality do now not only profanely keep, but proclaim the retention of it, an occaſion of all the Scabs and Emrods that do at this day, & have long before, inveſted the Nation. Though deducible out of Hiſtory and Experience, that Unity was more pliant to the bond of Peace, and the Prieſts more ſteady in their Chairs, and not ſo apt to fall into Schiſms, and break their own necks, together with their Governors, before Tradition was taken Captive, and Hypocriſie had blinded the Strength of,* &c. *who though they did at firſt grind the motly colours of ſuch as imployed them, they became in a ſhort time cunning enough to diſplay their own. Now if nothing might be regiſtred of wicked, effeminate and ill conſulted Princes, but things plauſible and tending to the fame of the dead, one of the chief reins of terrour and reſtraint would be quite let looſe to thoſe alive; the impartial Grave affording no more protection to their duſt, than the righteous Judge doth connivence to their Sins. From whence it may be concluded no leſs neceſſary (by reaſon of the greater and more general advantage accruing to the world from ſuch a ſplendid example) to diſſect and make inſpection into the defects of a dead King, or ruins of a tattered State, than for a Phyſician to anatomize a body whoſe life was through evil and extravagant courſes forfeited to the Law: by both which honeſt Men may come to be cured, and Commonwealths better governed. I confeſs a huge blame is due to ſuch as manage their pens no leſs impertinently than clowns do their knives and hatchets, with which in lieu of other imployment, or for pure want of diſcourſe, they deface and whittle the ſacred graves and unqueſtioned fame of great perſons, upon no ſolider an account than to fill Volumes, though they relate to no more uſe but what the Narrative contains, without pointing either to Imitation or Admonition, the Bulworks of Government; towards*

the

the advancement of which nothing can be ſo precious, as may not in Manners or Decency be imployed, whether relating to Fame or Infamy of Dead Princes; The omiſſion of which would not only obſtruct all the Readers Benefit and delight deducible merely from truth and variety, but remove out of the Sphere of Majeſty, hope, fear and ſhame of what may be cenſured of them after this Life (all the reward and puniſhment the moſt think themſelves capable of) by which they would be left only to the boundleſs and unſteady proſecution of chance, or the guidance of their own Wills, not unlikely to prove as deſtructive to them and their Iſſue, as burdenſome to their People; It being the Duty of an Hiſtorian, not only to better the preſent Underſtanding, but to open a Window into the future, by drawing the faireſt Landskip, and making the wideſt and fartheſt proſpect into times paſt, his skill will give him leave; In which perhaps more Art may be ſhewn in diſcovering the Ditches, Boggs and Buſhes, than the more lofty Mountains and Trees. And now, having ſo far as is neceſſary vindicated Tradition (the free School of Princes) where Moderation may be learn'd from thoſe that have fallen under a Popular fury, and patience inculcated to all Subjects by the dear Effects of Civil War, and the example of many that have caſt off one Tyranny and fallen into a worſe, not ſeldom their Portion, who hunt after change, I ſhall farther add, and that no Sound requires a more docile ear, nor an exacter attention, than that proceeding from the Trumpet of Fame; the jarrings of which, like other wind inſtruments, are not ſo diſcernable at any diſtance, as nearer hand; wherefore it creates admiration in me, to find out what the Compoſition of their Humours may be, That impute it not only for a blemiſh to the Writer, but an undecent intruſion into the Readers Harveſt, To inſert is own judgment, or the moſt probable Opinions of the Age wherein the Scenes of his Story were acted: Yet are heard daily to bewail the want of a more perfect knowledge of the cauſe why Sejanus *fell from ſo great a heigth of felicity into ſo deep an Abyſs of Miſery, with other like mutilations obſervable in the Records of Hiſtory, not capable of recovery by poſterity; an Omiſſion not likely to reſult*

from any other neglect, than what the commonneſs of that knowledge did at the time of their writing breed in the Hiſtorians: whoſe induſtry can as hardly prove ſo impertinent to future Ages (for whoſe ſake chiefly it is imployed) as it may appear perhaps ingrateful to the preſent, where every one carries a Chronicle in his Mouth, or at leaſt ſo much as may raiſe a Flood of Contradiction ſtrong enough for the time to immerge the greateſt and exacteſt inquiſition after the moſt uſeful and exemplary Truth: Since, though the Diſeaſes in Bodies Politick, are ordinarily recorded as to matter of Fact, yet to ſet down the manner of their Cure, and ſtrengthen it with ſuch a defenſive plaiſter, as may for the future prevent falling into the like, will not be thought unworthy the Labour of the Hiſtorian, and without which the Politician ſhall be little edified; who cannot pretend to a higher Title than that of an Emperic, if he hath not been Converſant (as the Pretenders by their places to Reaſon of State are moſt commonly found) with other Experiments than may be deduced out of the Stories of Antiquity, wherein all Tranſactions (but what paſſed between Greece *and* Rome*) had ſtill one end of the Treaty ſupported by a People ſtiled Barbarous. Nor is it to be wondred at, that the Ancients ſhould exceed the Modern in repute, though ſhort in goodneſs; ſince the beſt Conſtruction is put upon their Ambiguities, and their faults mended, and imputed not to the Author but Tranſcribers: whereas Contemporaries receive all rigor, few vouchſafing to mend the errors of the Preſs; And if any Interpretation be worſe than other, he is ſure to have it. Wherefore in caſe I dye before this be finiſhed, if Poſterity finds no Reaſon to wiſh it otherwiſe, I am ſure the Compoſer ſhall not.*

THE

THE

PRINCIPAL HEADS

Of the following

MEMOIRS

On the Reign of

KING *JAMES.*

1. KIng James *the occaſion of his Son's Ruin.*

2. *The Engliſh diſguſt the Multitude of* Scots *following him. How it might have been prevented.*

3. *How he ſtood affected at the News of Queen* Elizabeth's *Death, and his Proclaiming by the Mayor of* London, *who were moſt earneſt for his Reception, and who propounded it might be with Caution.*

4. *A Peace made with* Spain,——*of what conſequence to that Crown*———

5. ——*By what Gifts procured, and*——*The Kings Council ſuborn'd.*

6. *The Lord's* Cobham, Gray, *and Sir* Walter Raleigh *indicted of Treaſons. The miſerable Death of the Firſt.*

7. *Sir* Walter Raleigh's *Hiſtory of the World: His* Guiana *Voyage, his Trial, Condemnation, Execution and Character.*

8. *Truce made between* Spain *and the* Dutch; *The inconveniencies thereof to that Republick, King* James's *Writings and Employment.*

9. *His Entry and Exit attended with great Plagues.*

10. *This ill condition the Papiſts lay in* ——— *may ſeem to have brought forth that Monſter,* The Powder Plot.

11. *Conjectures what it's Effects might have been.*

12. *Miracles relating of* Garnet ——*his Execution; with the reſt of the Conſpirators.*

13. *The Diſcovery, reported as occaſion'd by the Lord* Morley (Cecil's *Artifice.*)

14. ——— *came from the* French *King. The* Spaniſh *fluttering Congratulation. King* James's *Puſilanimity and ill Practices; their Effects.* Rome *deſpair of regaining* England.

15. *The Cauſes of the* French *King's Aſſaſſination.*

16. *The Papiſts indulg'd and Puritans (unadviſedly) proſecuted. The Conference at* Hampton-Court; *It's inconveniences. By what ſteps the Puritans got up, and the old Clergy degenerated.*

17. *The Engliſh impoveriſhed by Exactions to enrich the* Scots. *King* James *his Hunting Character. His demeanour towards Q.* Anne; *Her Picture.*

18. *An Apology for an Hiſtorian's taking notice of minute and low Circumſtantials.*

19. *The King's Obligations to the Earl of* Northumberland *requited with the Star-chamber. That Court deſcribed.*

20. *The* Pauls-*walking News-mongers* ——— *report* Northumberland *(who brought in King* James*) too (fatally) intimate with P.* Henry. Forteſcue's *Rewards firſt for Oppoſing the King's Admiſſion (without Caution) and after for Entertaining him.*

21. *The* Puritans *denied a ſecond Conference.*

22. *A Libel on the* Scots——*Explained.*

23. ——*A Character of* Philip *Earl of* Mongomery; *How patiently he took his* Switching *by* Ramſey *at* Croyden *(which otherwiſe had produced a National Quarrel) How the King repaired* Philip's *loſt honour (An Animadverſion upon* Maſques*)* ——

24. ——*His gallant Mother the Counteſs of* Pembroke's *reſentment. Her Picture and Epitaph.*

25. *The*

25. *The King's Fears make him baniſh* Ramſey. *His debauching the Engliſh.* Pembroke's *Wives deſcent.*

26. Sackvil *the only Engliſh man at* Croyden *that went on the* Scots *ſide, and why?*

27. Maxwel *lugg's* Hayly; *which had like to have engaged the* Greys-Inn *Gentlemen in a Quarrel,* ——— *taken up by* Bacon; *They entertain the King with a* Maſque, *and He them with a* Banquet: *Their Rudeneſs.*

28. Murry *kills a Sergeant; and the Lord* Zankor, *the Fencer* Turner: *Their Sentence.*

29. *Treaſurer* Cecil's *Artifice to ſtop the King's profuſeneſs: His Enmity to the Earl of* Eſſex, *and encloſure of* Hatfield *Chaſe, &c. contract him the peoples Hatred, which vented in Libels after his Death, The manner of it. His Character.* Baronets *his Project. Crown-Timber (waſtfully) ſold.*

30. *The Miſchiefs wrought to this Nation by ſome of the worſt of the Scotiſh Lords, as* Roxborow, Fenton, Carliſle, Dunbar, Kelley, Somerſet; *The riſe of the four laſt.*

31. *The King's deſign for the Union eagerly carried on,* ———*proved Abortive in the Parliament.*

32. ———*Attempted again in the Star-Chamber by the Lawyers upon the account of Prerogative,* ——— *unſucceſsfully.*

33. *Objections made in Parliament againſt it.*

34. *Knight-hood made cheap* ———

35. *The occaſion of Baronets* ——*to the ruin of many Families.*

36. *Other Honours ſold* ———*partially.*

37. *The Engliſh dote on* P. Henry, ——*how juſtly, examined.*

38. *His Virtues draw Love from the People, and that raiſes (fatal) Jealouſie in the King. The unhappy condition of Princes. His Death.*

39. *King* James *ill attended, and why?* Carliſle's *Exceſs; Ante-Suppers* ——*his invention. The King's Favourites cenſured,* ———

40. *How the* E. *of* Holland *loſt that place.*

41. Gowry's *Conſpiracy, and the Mock-Holy-day for it.*

42. *Treaſurer* Buckhurſt's *remarkable Death: His Character.*

43. *The* L. Elizabeth's *Marriage with the Palſgrave* ——— *generally liked: Why the King conſented to ſo poor a Match. Her Vertues and Misfortunes.*

44. *Conjectures about the* Palſgrave's *Affairs.*

45. *Prince* Henry's *encouraging his Attempts.*

46. *The Battle of* Prague *loſt through his Covetouſneſs.*

47. Weſton *farthers the Elector and his Lady's eſcape to the* Hague.

48. *Many Papiſts true to their truſt: Of Count* Mansfield. *The Cloſe of the firſt Part.*

SOME

SOME Traditional Memorials ON THE REIGN OF KING *JAMES*.

THE Misfortunes of King *Charles*, Son to King *James*, with the uncouth, dismal and unexpressible Calamities that happened thereupon, appear yet so great a Sacrifice in the Opinions of all interested by loss, or suborned by that natural propensity inherent in the most to expunge or palliate the Lapses of unhappy Princes (whose Indulgence is not seldom so diffusive as to expiate for the Faults of those standing in a far remoter Relation than that of a Father) that they have hitherto stopped my Pen from making any farther Progress this way; till, led on by a Zeal to Truth, and illuminated from the brighter Judgments of others, I found not only the imprudent Commissions, but voluntary Omissions of King *James* so much instrumental in the promotion of our present evils, as it may justly be said, He, like *Adam*,

dam, by bringing the Crown into ſo great a Neceſſity through a profuſe prodigality, became the original of his Son's Fall: who was in a manner compel'd to ſtretch out his hands towards ſuch gatherings and Taxes, as are contrary to Law: by which he fell from the Paradiſe of a Prince, to wit, The Hearts of his People.

For tho' the beſt Politicians extent might miſcarry in their caculations of a Civil War immediately to follow upon the death of Queen *Elizabeth*, in vindication of the number of Titles and Opinions then current: Yet the beggarly Rabble attending his Majeſty not only at his firſt coming out of *Scotland*, but through his whole Reign (like a fluent ſpring) found ſtill Groſſing the River of *Tweed*, did ſo far juſtifie the former conjecture, as it was only thought miſtaken in relation to time. The dreadful Symptoms of that War preſaged, ſtill impending *England*, and the nearer approach manifeſted in the Diſcontent that appeared in all places and amongſt every Society, to the very Court it ſelf, in whoſe Opinion no leſs than the generality, his too palpable partiality towards his Country-men rendered him no higher place than of a King-in-Law, not a Prince of any natural Affections to the People of this Nation. So as his more wiſe and innocent Succeſſor was caſt upon this unhappy Choice, either to hazard the Fidelity of his *Scotch* Subjects, by Obſtructing this Bounty; or that of the Engliſh, at whoſe coſt alone it could be continued. All which might eaſily have been at firſt prevented (and perhaps no leſs to the King's Advantage than the Peoples) had the ſame caution the Parliament exacted from *Philip* of *Spain*, been taken from *James* of *Scotland*; a Nation no leſs diſtant from the Engliſh in Nature and Affection.

3. In the proſecution of which, or any thing elſe relating to this King, I ſhall avoid all unneceſſary Severity, and obſerve more Duty and Reſpect, than may poſſibly be thought due, by Poſterity, to the Perſon of a Prince, that (after ſo exact a Pattern as Queen *Elizabeth*

zabeth left him) did, by debauching Parliaments, and breaking his Word, ſo far irritate, no leſs than impoveriſh the Subject, as his Son was forced to give Conceſſion to one rendred indiſſolvable but by their own Will: A Miſchief could never have befallen *England*, had King *James* left them in the ſame temper he found them at the death of the Queen. The News of which was brought him firſt (as I have heard) by *Cary*, after Lord *Lepington*, and ſince Earl of *Monmouth*; Who not able to ſatisfy ſuch a concourſe of doubts and queſtions, as far more reſolute natures than his do daily muſter upon leſs Occaſions, The King ſtood as in a Maze, being more affected, through the fear of Oppoſition, than pleaſed with the preſent Report; till by a lamer Poſt he was advertiſed of his being joyfully Proclaimed in *London* by the Lord *Mayor* and Aldermen, and of the unqueſtioned reception his Title in all places met with; no leſs than that the Hopes of ſome, and Fears of the major part, aſſiſted by the prudent carriage of the Treaſurer, and ranting Proteſtations of the Earl of *Northumberland* (that in all places vapoured he would bring him in by the Sword) had ſtopped their mouths that deſired (in regard of the known Feud between the Nations) he might be obliged to Articles: And amongſt theſe noble and publick Spirits was Sir *John Forteſcue*, Sir *Walter Raleigh*, the Lord *Cobham*, *&c.* All frowned upon after by the King, who had yet the luck to live ſo long as to change his Opinion, and (when he found he neither durſt do it himſelf, nor conſent to it in Parliament) to wiſh his Countrymens numbers had been limited, and not ſuffered like locuſts to devour this Kingdom, from whence they became ſo rich and inſolent, as nothing with any moderation could either be given or denied them; the Reſult of an Omiſſion no blood could expiate, but that of the greateſt Victim ever ſacrificed ſince Chriſt in ſo ignoble a way.

4. He

4. He held his Thoughts ſo intent upon Eaſe and Pleaſure, that to avoid all Interruption likely to impede any part of the Felicity he had poſſeſſed his Imagination with from the union of theſe Crowns, And to fit an Example for his Neighbours imagination, whom he deſired to bring into the like Reſolution; he caſt himſelf as it were blind-fold into a Peace with *Spain*, far more deſtructive to *England* than a War: For it hath not only found that Prince an opportunity to recover his Strength (much abated by the Queens moſt happy Succeſſes at Sea) But gave him a fair Advantage to eſtabliſh himſelf in the Kingdom of *Portugal*, and quiet the diſtempers of his own People, that were, ever ſince the expulſion of the *Moors* (to whom a major part of the Subjects, together with their Language, is undoubtedly allied) much perplexed at the Cruelty of the Inquiſition, and ſo upon all opportunities ready to call them back from the *Barbary* ſhore: Which could not have been ſo happily accompliſhed, but during ſo ſtill a Peace as the new Reconciliation of the *French* King with the Pope, and puſillanimous Temper of King *James* did at that preſent afford him, and without which it had not been uneaſie for a far weaker Neighbour to have tormented him in the bowels of his own Eſtate, by the leaſt fomentation they could have uſed.

5. And as this Peace was of infinite conſequence to the Spaniard, ſo he ſpared for no coſt to procure it: And to prevent the inſerting any Article that might obſtruct his Recourſe to, or from the *Indies* (the Magazine of ſtrife) either on this ſide or beyond the Line (thought by the Engliſh Commiſſioners not included, however the contrary was after pretended, and no farther diſputed by King *James* than with Patience and a quiet Submiſſion of his Subjects to their ſenſe, not rarely puniſhing ſuch as tranſgreſt, at their coming home) he preſented all, both Scotiſh and Engliſh with Gifts, and thoſe no ſmall ones; for by that the Earl of *Northamp-*

Northampton, Brother to *Suffolk*, had, he was alone able to raiſe and finiſh the goodly Pile he built in the *Strand*, which yet remains a Monument of his, *&c.* Nor are there a few others, no leſs brave Houſes freſh in my Memory, that had their Foundations, if not their Walls and Roofs, plaiſtered with the ſame Morter; though out of my Will to name, who had rather be condemned by Poſterity, that are not likely to hurt me for this Modeſty, than expoſe my ſelf to the mercy of the Age I have the fortune to live in, by making my Pen over-familiar with my Thoughts; ſince after-times may better ſpare the knowledge of many things, than we reveal them; only this I ſhall add as no improbable Conjecture made by many in thoſe days: That his Catholick Majeſty was ſo frighted by the Apprehenſion of a Poſſibility that our King, according to the Nature no leſs than the Obligation of his Country, might fall into a Conjunction with *France*, That he would ſcarce at that time have denied him any thing, to the half of his *Indies*. And from hence all Princes may calculate the vaſt Difference that lies between a Counſel ſuborned, and one free from Corruption.

6. At his Aſſumption to the Throne, the Lord *Gray*, Lord *Cobham*, and Sir *Walter Raleigh* (profeſſed Enemies to the late Earl of *Eſſex*, and no weak Inſtruments in his Deſtruction) fell into a Treaſon of a like depth with his; and ſo improbable to hurt others, or benefit themſelves, That if ever Folly was capable of the title, or Pity due to Innocence, theirs might claim ſo large ſhare, As not poſſible to be too ſeverely condemned, or ſlightly enough puniſhed. Yet as ſhallow as it was, the Lord *Gray* could never wade through it, but dyed in the Tower; Though *Cobham* did, but to ſuch a liberty as only afforded him the choice of a place to ſtarve in, all his Land being formerly confiſcated and begg'd; So as my ſelf heard *William* Earl of *Pembroke* relate with much regret towards him (though in his life his oppoſer, in exaſperating the old Queen againſt him

him in relation to a Juvenile lapſe, for which he was by her committed to the Fleet) That he dyed in a room aſcended by a Ladder, at a poor Womans houſe in the *Minories*, formerly his Landreſs, rather of hunger, than any more Natural diſeaſe. Thus miſerable was his Fate, in meeting with a Prince ſo inconſiderately profuſe to Strangers, that he forgot the Owner, not leaving him where-withal to buy Bread; an impiety not found amongſt Infidels, who ever deemed it leſs injuſtice to take away life, than the means to maintain it, Which may one day inſpire a Parliament with ſo much wiſdom, as to abate the Rigor of the Law in relation to the Poſterity of Criminals, who are in this particular dealt withal contrary to the Decree of God and Nature, who ſaith, *the Perſon offending ſhall only dye*, and no Puniſhment deſcend to the innocent Children: found the occaſion of much miſchief, eſpecially to men of honour and eſtates, by affording a wide and legal Pretence for Malice and Tyranny to expatiate in; manifeſted in that prodigious Parliament; and might have been eaſily redreſſed, had not their frequent Purgations left them no other Humor but what related to continuance and ſelf-intereſt, contrary to the nature of that Court, which ought not to be perpetual; who in the Decollation of Monarchy, cut off all the hope of bettering the miſerable Condition of the Engliſh Subject.

7. As for *Raleigh*, none ever imploy'd Inlargment worſe, that knew ſo well how to advantage himſelf and his Country in Impriſonment, for during his tedious Lying in the Tower (under the jealouſie rather than Juſtice of King *James*, who did ſo far participate of the humour of a Puſillanimous Prince, as to pardon any ſooner than thoſe injured by himſelf) He was delivered of that Minerva, *the Hiſtory of the old World*: which Travel of his Brain proved more ſucceſsful, than that of his Body, to diſcover a new one, in that unhappy Voyage to *Guinea*, in which his Son with a number

ber of other Gentlemen were loſt and undone, and he expoſed to the Spaniſh Cruelty, who about that time begun to dazle the weaker eyes of King *James*, with the contemplation of a Match, between our Prince and that King's Siſter, to whom Sir *Walter* had rendred himſelf ſuſpected, no leſs than he had formerly diſobliged the Treaſurer *Cecil*, by obſtructing, to the fartheſt extent of his Power, a Peace, through his mediation propounded in the very ſhutting in of Queen *Elizabeth*'s days: which was not only the Cauſe of his Arraignment long before and carried on ſo fiercely by Attorney *Cook* and other dependers on the Treaſurer, at *Wincheſter*, but of the order upon this occaſion ſent, tho' long after, to *Gondamor* the Spaniſh Agent, vigorouſly to demand the Head of *Raleigh* for an Aſſault made by him on his Maſter's *Indies:* A Head of more weight to our Court (eſpecially in that dearth of wiſdom then raging) than the *Infanta* could be, notwithſtanding the moſt general no leſs than the leaſt ſuſpected reports made her alone owner (tho' ſmall in Stature) of the greateſt Beauty, Virtue, Gallantry and Prudence that were at that day extant in womankind. But as the Foooliſh Idolaters were wont to Sacrifice the choiceſt of their Children to the Devil, the common Enemy of Humanity; ſo our King gave up this incomparable jewel to the will of this Monſter in Ambition, under the pretence of a ſuperannuated Tranſgreſſion; Contrary to the opinion of the moſt honeſt ſort of Gownmen, who maintained that His Majeſties Pardon lay incluſively in the Commiſſion he gave him upon his ſeting out to Sea: It being incongruous, that he who remained under the notion of one Dead in Law, ſhould as a General diſpoſe of the Lives of others, not being himſelf Maſter of his own: But the Spaniſh Faction then Abſolute at Court, and ſole managers of the King's Power, no leſs than his Juſtice, did ſo far tender His Catholick Majeſty's full ſatisfaction in the procuring his Death, the only Man of Note left Alive that had helped to Beat them in

the

the Year 1588. that no abſurdity lying in the way of his Proſecution could deter them from making uſe of his former Condemnation: Remembring withal how far his Wit had Puzled them at *Wincheſter*, That tho' his Judges were willing enough to deſtroy him there, yet they did rather tire him out of his Life, by the Bawling of the King's Counſel on one ſide, and the Benches Inſiſting upon a Confeſſion Extorted from the Lord *Cobham* out of fear, (who being in the ſame Condemnation could but make a Circumſtance, no Creature elſe Averring it) than convince him: ſome of his Jury being after he was Caſt, ſo far touched in Conſcience, as to demand of him Pardon on their Knees; which made it the leſs probable they ſhould be able to Impanel one ſo Wicked as would do it then. Beſides, no Peace beyond the Line was a belief ſo Riveted in the Opinions of all, as he could not have been Indicted anew, without the King's producing of the Original Article, by which his Accuſers would have been convinced of Malice, or his Prince of Folly. He was Captain of the Guard to Queen *Elizabeth*, Warden of the *Cinque* Ports, firſt diſcoverer of that new Plantation which in honour of his Miſtreſs he named *Virginia*. But above all, of ſo incomparable a dexterity in his Judgment, as the Treaſurer, (who had already, by an univerſal compliance with the King and his Country-men, purchaſed the Monopoly of his Favour) grew jealous of his excellent parts, leſt he ſhould ſupplant him. And this was the firſt cauſe of his bringing to that Trial, from whence *Gondamor* and our Eſpaniolized Engliſh took this laſt advantage to cut off his Head: which *Edward Wimark* the *Paul*'s walker wiſhed upon Sir *Robert Nanton*'s Shoulders, one of the Secretaries of State, who conſcious of the need he had of ſuch good parts, convented him for it, but without any better ſucceſs than making himſelf ridiculous; yet had he or his Maſter owned ſo much underſtanding as witty *Wimark* meant that made the wiſh, we ſhould not have found ſuch

cauſe

cauſe to complain now of his Sons evil Council; left him by deſcent from King *James*, that gave this fatal blow, not poſſibly then to be ſeconded by ſuch another, made ſo much the heavier becauſe procured at the ſuit of an Enemy.

His Death was by him managed with ſo high and Religious a reſolution, as if a *Roman* had Acted a Chriſtian, or rather a Chriſtian a *Roman*: So as amongſt the number that contributed to the deſtruction of the Earl of *Eſſex*, none but he died Pityed. Which King *James* finding, he according to the Mode of weak and ill-conſulted Princes, ſet forth in Print a Declaration, which according to the ordinary ſucceſs of ſuch Apologies, rendred the condition of that proceeding worſe in the worlds opinion: It begins thus,

Though I take my ſelf bound to give no other account of my Actions but to God; yet, &c.

8. By His Majeſty's example, no leſs than perſwaſions, the States of the United Provinces (not knowing to which ſide this new Prince would propend) were induced to a Truce with *Spain* for twelve years. Who before, and ſince moſt ſucceſsfully reſiſted that King in defence of Liberty; A felicity due to man by Birth-right, and uncapable of forfeiture but to the Wrath of God, that doth not ſeldom convert it into Tyranny, after a general declenſion into licence and Oppreſſion, Through which Senators grow ſo Rich as they are tempted to Ambition: Though few beſides them have had the dexterity to gain their Freedom, or Skill to keep it when Fortune did fairly preſent them with it; yet ordinarily exerciſed in all Corporations: Men in Government reſembling Horſes, that are far leſs Ranting, and eaſier brought to an even Temper, being link'd together in a Team, than ſingle in a Chariot, as over tickled with the Trappings of Pride and Honour: Therefore more unanimous in War than Peace; unlikely then, as now, to produce to the *Netherlands* any greater advantage than a Confeſſion of a

Right, theirs before in Poſſeſſion, By Treating them in an equal degree of Honour with other Princes and Free States. For in this Truce was hatched the Conſpiracy of *Bernavelt*, the Faction of the *Arminians*, and ſo many other evil Humors Contracted, as have given them ever ſince a full Imployment to correct and evaporate. The Contexture of this kind of Government being ſo delicate and Mathematical, That, as it is leaſt capable of error, ſo if one chance to creep in (as poſſibly may by too long indulging of a Family) it doth hazard, if not unravel the whole Web. To conclude, they are not in my experience or reading parallel'd, by any People beſides themſelves in This, To become rich by a defenſive War: The *Swiſs*, though owners of brave Actions, are yet ſo far their Punies in the learning of trade, That whilſt the one out of plenty is able to hire aſſiſtance of their Neighbours, The other out of meer Neceſſity are become the Cudgels with which the reſt of the World do upon all Occaſions beat one another. All which conſidered might raiſe an Uſe of Inſtruction to *England*, not unfurniſhed with as good Mariners, No leſs than one of Example to *Venice*: Who might, if ſhe looked within and without, find People enough to make them, were they cured of the Trembling of the Heart, a Diſeaſe perhaps incident to all Republicks not founded in Arms. But in a venerable Reverence to the Ghoſts of *Lipſius*, Sir *Henry Savil*, *Strada*, and other bold Authors, that arraign *Tacitus* for his Digreſſions no leſs than Stile; who have, no doubt, raiſed ſo numerous an Iſſue to their Judgments as may hereafter ſacrifice theſe Leaves to a like Cenſure; I ſhall return to King *James*, who had far worſe Books (ſaid, and no doubt truly, to be of his writing) as intemperately on the other ſide praiſed by Flatterers; which elated his imagination to ſo high an Eſteem of his Wiſdom, that he out of an impertinent Emulation was thought to affect Sir *Walter Raleigh*, the leſs, becauſe of the great repute that follow'd

him

him for his excellent Pen: ſo as after much Scorn caſt upon it, being modeſtly demanded, what Fault he found, he anſwered as one ſurpriſed, *That he ſpake irreverently of King* Henry *the Eighth*: Which could not be the natural Cauſe, though firſt in his Apprehenſion, ſince none ever exclaimed more againſt that Prince, than uſually he did. But however, this is very notorious, that he dedicated rainy weather to his Standiſh, and fair to his Hounds, or any thing elſe that owned the Voice of Pleaſure; which was through the whole Series: of his Government more acceptable, than any profit or conveniency might accrue to his People.

9. At his firſt coming he was long detained from *Weſtminſter* by a Plague, looked upon as the greateſt, till exceeded in that which broke out after his Death; Taken by the ill boding Engliſh for a preſage of worſe days than they had already ſeen: the good Government of Queen *Elizabeth* not being in probability likely to bear the Charges (without falling into ſome Deſtructive Commotion) of two ſuch expenſive Princes in Succeſſion, without having any more popular to Intervene.

10. After the Peace, of too near concernment to His Catholick Majeſty to afford him leaſure to Imagine, much leſs to inſert ſo Rugged an Article as the performance of any Promiſe our King had made before his Reception, in Caſe the Papiſts did not Oppoſe, (which I have found Regiſtered by many, and ſo high as Amounted to a Toleration at leaſt) he obſerved in Prudence it could not be conceded by this new King, however he ſtood affected in his deſires, having ſo many of his Subjects Proteſtants, for one of the *Roman* Profeſſion: And being beſides, no more Zealous than other Princes, that make uſe of Religion only for a Fence to Immure their Perſons and Prerogative, but eſteem it a meer Accident where Reaſon of State drives on a Bargain without it; He left the Poor Catholicks in the wide Field of the Scotiſh Cruelty, who did daily Beg,

Sell or Exchange ſuch as preferred Conſcience before unreaſonable Compoſitions, remaining Obſtinate in their Recuſancy, which, in this exceſſive Extremity ſome either were ſo far Indulged by others, or themſelves, as to take their Eſtates off from this *Scotch* Hook, did about this time go to Church. Whilſt King *James* ſtood ſo Amazed at his Preſent Felicity, that the Fleecing his Subjects did ſeem to concern him no more, than it doth the love-ſick Bridegroom to loſe all his Gloves, Ribbands, Garters and Points to the very ſingle one that keeps all from, *&c.* For though the frequent Petitions of theſe plundered People, no leſs than the Recommendations of Miniſters of foreign States, might for the preſent incline his Heart (which in its own Nature was not cruel) to Commiſeration: Yet upon a lively Repreſentation of that Northern Poppit-play, whoſe Scenes they lay in the Church of *Rome*, pretending the leaſt Candor uſed to theſe *Cannanites* would call his Mothers Sins to a new Remembrance, and ſo conjure up the Spirit of Rebellion, againſt which there can be no apter Sacrifice than the Retainers to that Committy, which beautifies the Veſtries of *Scotland*, *&c.* in the ſhape of a Beaſt, *&c.* which once heard interpreted by a curtailed Divine, he either durſt not or would not abate this Rigor, but rather increaſed their Deſpair by daily Threats of worſe, and Invectives owned as written by himſelf, which though ſome might conſider as too Theatrical to be real, yet others not ſo well vers'd in his Majeſties Royal Craft, and having poſſibly beſides been ſwallowed by one of theſe Harpies, that like Cormorants will retain the Prey 'till their Throats be cut, may be excuſed in part, if finding their Hopes deluded they fell into Deſpair, eſpecially hearing the unceſſant Cry made by the Commons in the Houſe of Parliament for a freſh Supply of Laws againſt Recuſants, and all that lay but under the leaſt Notion of a Popiſh Affection; which was a Latitude ſome extended as far as Prelacy, others

others bounded it very little on this ſide Anabaptiſm: Though they ſaw them daily thrown into a Den of Scotchmen, which the Court did already ſo naturally reſemble, as nothing made penal by Law either in Church or Common-wealth, but was by the King granted to his Country-men, and by them exacted to the uttermoſt Farthing. Many in the mean time venting their Spleen (capable of better imployment) in Libels and Songs of one of which I remember two lines at this time, and may do more hereafter.

In Scotland *he was born and bred,*
And though a Beggar, muſt be fed.

This made the Papiſts look about them, not a little terrified to ſee the King turn his Quill (the ſharpeſt weapon he handled throughout his whole Reign) againſt the Pope. And though they had fairer Cards at that time to ſhew for their Opinions (by reaſon of the Biſhops and more politick Clergy, who began now to find no Head ſo likely to ſupport them, as one naturally iſſuing out of their own Body, being in this ſingle Condition, like no longer to ſubſiſt, than found neceſſary to the temporal Power) than they were able to draw during the Days of the Queen: Yet they wanted Patience to attend their better Fortune, which no time ſince the diſſolution of the Abbies (King *James* holding, *No Biſhop, no King*, for as real an Article in the Myſtery of Monarchy, as they did *No Ceremony, no Biſhop*, in that of the Hierarchy) was more likely to have brought about, had they not manifeſted ſuch foul Play, as an indeavour to blow up the Houſes of Parliament, a Treaſon of ſo bloody an intendment, that it almoſt appears a Fiction to us that ſaw it, though two of the Heads of the Conſpirators, *Catesby* and *Percy* (if not ſince removed, and others ſet in their places, as I have been told) remain ſtill on the Houſe of Lords to witneſs it; ſome Prieſts having diſavowed any ſuch thing

in Print beyond Sea, where I my ſelf was asked the ſame Queſtion: And ſuch as want impudence to deny it, do yet only acknowledge it for the ſingle attempt of ſome few diſcontented ſpirits, rendred deſperate through the heavy affliction they then lay under: All their hopes being loſt in the neglects of the Kings of *Spain* and *England*. The firſt remaining as careleſs of his Faith, as the other did of the performance of his Word, though *Garnet* their Arch prieſt was one, and about that time Prayers and Faſts appointed to be uſed by thoſe Romiſhly affected throughout this whole Realm.

11. I never met two of a like conceit, concerning any effect or extent this powder might have reached, had it not failed of ſucceſs: Since one did confine it (who pretended to have been aſſiſting at the ſpringing of divers Mines) to the Circle it lay in, and no farther than to the ſhaking of the contiguous buildings: whereas the Judgments of others no leſs experienced, delivered at leaſt the whole Iſle to the fury of it: But the Lord *Wilmot* did in my mind offer the moſt probable Conjecture (who had ſeen a like quantity of Powder fired upon a Wharf in *Dublin*) that by reaſon of the weight and ſtraightneſs of the Vault which would have given it all leaſure to kindle, it could not but have wrought dire effects upon the City it ſelf: Since the other did no leſs, though it had no narrower Arch to reſtrain it than that of Heaven. This I am ſure of, that it had overwhelmed Church and State; a Conſpiracy dragged out of Hell, nay worſe than the Devil himſelf, for he ſeeks to preſerve his own; whereas this paſſed by few of the ſame Profeſſion, many known Papiſts then ſitting in the Houſe of Lords, beſides other private ones, that were mingled amongſt the Commons. Happy for us that may ſafely gueſs at the conſequence, and are by ſpecial mercy of Almighty God removed from the Danger: It having been very unlucky for our Family to eſcape, ſince at that very time my Father maintained

tained Mr. *Thomas Brightman* under his Roof. Yet let me juſtify the Charity of theſe Underminers ſo far, as to ſay they only intended in their Calculation the Deſtruction of the Houſe of Lords, unleſs Report was found more Charitable than they.

12. Here, as in moſt Conſpiracies of like compoſition, the former mentioned Prieſt was a principal Ingredient; of whom, after his death, they reported Wonders, as that the perfect Effigies of his Face remained in the Straw uſed to dry up the Blood on the Scaffold; but all the Miracle I could obſerve was the prodigiouſneſs of the Attempt, who have had ſome of thoſe Straws in my hands, yet could obſerve no more than by impoſing upon my Imagination (firſt prompted through others Report) I found, as may be in all Straws elſe, the Reſemblance of a Beard, and ſomething fancy was at that time apt to caſt into the mold of a Face, being formerly ſuborned by the general Opinion: Yet theſe no doubt are ſold, and paſs at this Day for Reliques, as I know they did 20 Years after, and he for a holy Saint. From whence we may judge at the Original, no leſs than validity of divers at this day current amongſt us; ſuch falſe Coin being in ſome judgments abſolved from all tincture of Corruption due to deceit, by the Profit and Reverence they procure to Commerce: As if God had ſo poorly provided for his Honour, as to want the weak ſupporters of Falſhood and Credulity; ſince what he could ſay in excuſe of Treaſon (which he profeſſed always to abhor) was, that it came to his Knowledge under the Seal of Confeſſion. He was executed at the *Weſt* Gate of Saint *Paul*'s, having the favour only to hang till he was dead; the reſt being uſed too cruelly, as may be thought by all that remove their eyes never ſo little from the merit of the Cauſe.

13. The Diſcovery appeared no leſs admirable than the Treaſon, to ſuch as took the printed Report for Authentick, *That a Letter was ſent to the Lord* Morley,

and from him to his Majeſty, &c. a neat device of the Treaſurer's to fetch him in, to whoſe eſtate or perſon, if not both, he had a quarrel. He being very plentiful in ſuch Plots, writing a Book a little after, wherein to magnifie his zeal to Religion, and the State, he publiſhed a Libel where they threaten to kill him, with a well penned Anſwer; both thought to ſmell of the ſame Ink. All which he did to recover the love of the People, forfeited by the hate he expreſſed to their Darling *Eſſex*, and the deſire he had to render Juſtice and Prerogative Arbitrary. But he that follows this track too far may poſſibly fall into the ſnare of Power.

14. I never found any ſignal favour or reſpect given from the Court to the Lord *Morley*, which renders their conjuncture the more probable who did report as from the *French* Ambaſſadour then reſident, that the firſt intimation of the Powder Treaſon came from his Maſter, who received it from the Jeſuits of his Faction, to the end he might ſhare in our ruins; the Kingdom of *England* being in the Pope's own Judgment too great an addition to that of *Spain*, where though it was firſt coined (ſome ſay during the days of Queen *Elizabeth*) yet the Prieſts that undertook the promoting it, ſought to render it the moſt beneficial they could to their reſpective Patrons. And here I cannot omit that after this happy Diſcovery, his Catholick Majeſty ſent an Agent on purpoſe to Congratulate King *James* his great preſervation. A flattery ſo palpable, as the Pope could not refrain laughing in the face of Cardinal *D' Oſſat* when he firſt told it him; nor he forbear to Inform his King of it, as may be found in his Printed Letters: It being Notorious that at King *James* his firſt Aſſumption to the Throne of *England*, none ſought his Deſtruction more cordially than the *Spaniard*; 'till a continued tract of Experience had fully acquainted him with his Temper, and the impoſſibility of perſwading him to form any League with *France*, or other Chriſtian Princes againſt him. Nor was our King himſelf

himſelf backward in fomenting this Innocent Opinion amongſt his Neighbours, but did as ſoon as he could poſſibly by neglecting the Royal Ships, and caſting contempt upon all formerly in Military Imployment (the Wings, Nails, and Teeth of the Nation) teſtifie to the World he meant to ſpoil no People of their Honour, Lands, Felicity, Goods, or Laws, but thoſe, all Princes Celebrated for Wiſdom and Gallantry think themſelves tied in Nature to preſerve: By which he intailed Miſery upon his Succeſſion, and without the more Mercy of God Eternal ſlavery too, *&c.* For by penning up the Engliſh Valour, and opening the Fountains of Honour, with a ſucceſſion of neglect caſt upon the Nobility and Commons in their Repreſentatives, by denying them their reaſonable demands, or deluding them after his Royal aſſent given, by going contrary to what was enacted; theſe practices put him upon ſuch low ſhifts, that he at laſt having rendred himſelf uncapable of truſt, did deſcend to have the Mony given by the Parliament, depoſited in the hands of Commiſſioners; out of which he did notwithſtanding after force it, according as his impertinent expences demanded ſupplies. Nor was he more ſteady in his compacts with Foreign Princes; who in a ſmall time became ſo well acquainted, with his Complexion, that his promiſe did not Incite them either to hope or fear, or raiſe in any of them the Paſſions of Love or Hatred. And this is one of the Reaſons then given, why the moſt Chriſtian King did ſo far indulge his preſervation, as to advertiſe him of the former Conſpiracy, leſt he ſhould exchange *Herb John* for *Coloquintida*. Another, but in my Opinion (tho' ſtrongly preſt by his Miniſters) a very weak one, (for what obligation can reſtrain a Prince that ſees an advantage before him) was the favours received from hence during the League: But the moſt probable was the advantage *Spain* was likely to make of it, firſt, by reaſon he had an Army then ready in *Flanders* to land in the huge miſt ſo black a cloud

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muſt needs have cauſed over the Nation. Nor can his Holineſs himſelf look upon our ruin with any affection; *England* being of too great a conſequence to fall under any juriſdiction ſave her own, but to ſuch an exceſs as may hazard his obedience: Many things being now ſuffered in relation to the fears of others, which would not in a full plenitude of power be conceded out of Love; beſides, experience hath ſufficiently informed the Conſiſtory, that Church Lands are not only unravel'd, but ſo weaved into the Eſtates of the Laity, as not to be capable of ſeparation by any Converſion or other heat than ſuch a zeal as firſt refunded them out of the hearts of Converts, and ſtamped upon them an impreſs of Merit; not likely to be kindled amidſt ſuch knowledge as Printing hath inſpired *Europe* withal, and by which ſo ſtrict a watch is kept over what is dubious, as nothing can quietly paſs without ſuch a warrant from Reaſon, as the Clergy have in no Age been yet able to produce. Wherefore their hopes are in a manner buried as to the profits of *England*, and by conſequence chilled from any Vigorous Proſecution farther than concerns his Holineſs's Honour, in ſeeming to deſire the preſervation of thoſe Catholicks that remain: And this did not only facilitate the entrance of King *James*, but might occaſion the diſcovery of the Plot; which done to ſome Prince had drawn death or baniſhment upon them all; for at the bottom or top, either by Contribution or Prayers, the Lawyers would not have ſtuck to find them all guilty: ſo as he then wanted not perſwaſions to baniſh them. But his complection being more flegm than choler, He only ſuffered the Parliament to ſharpen Laws againſt them, that they might be the more obliged to him for ſtopping their execution; it being the general opinion of the Court, that after this he was more tender of their preſervations, they attaining by fear what no pity nor policy could procure.

15. To

15. To conclude, whoſoever revealed this Conſpiracy, it coſt, as I have often been told, the King of *France* his Life: not only by queſtioning the truth of his Converſion, but did raiſe ſo high a ſuſpicion of the immenſe Treaſure and mighty Army he had with no leſs induſtry than ſecreſie gotten together (not one living owning to this day the knowledge of his deſign) in the hearts of *Spain* and *Rome*, as they procured his death: his freedom to the King of *England* rendring this ſilence the more ſuſpected.

16. Now to take off the Subjects eyes from obſerving the Indulgency uſed by King *James* in behalf of the Papiſts, whom though he had no cauſe to love, he found reaſon enough to fear; a Quarrel was revived, (now almoſt aſleep, becauſe it had long eſcaped Perſecution, the Bellows of Schiſm) with a People ſtiled Puritans, who meeting no nearer a definition than the name, all the Conſcientious Men in the Nation ſhared the Contempt. Since under that general term were comprehended not only thoſe brainſick Fools as did oppoſe the Diſcipline and Ceremonies of the Church and made Religion an Umbrella to Impiety, but ſuch as out of meer honeſty refrained the Vices of the Times were branded by this Title; weaved of ſuch a faſhion, as it became a covering to the wicked, and no better than a Fools coat to men truly conſcientious. Neither was any charged with it, though in the beſt relation, thought competent to preferment in Church or Common-weal; which made the bad glory in their Impiety, and ſuch as had not an extraordinary meaſure of grace aſhamed of any outward profeſſion of ſanctity. Court Sermons were fraught with bitter Invectives againſt theſe people whom they ſeated in a Claſs far nearer the Confines of Hell than Papiſts, yet the wiſeſt durſt not define them. The King called them *Proteſtants ſcared out of their wits*; others, *Lovers of God, and haters of their neighbours*. Fooliſh and inſignificant Expreſſions: For had they held them to the names of Hypocrites, known

known and abominated by all, they would have been buried in contempt, and not riſen, as ſince they have done, to the perpetual detriment of Church and State. But the breadth and newneſs of the name, together with the Colour it hath, did not only delight and cover all that cheated under a pretence of Sanctity, but ſtifled the ſeeds of goodneſs; ſo as probity was obſtructed by deceit in the general Commerce, and Religion the guard of property rendred uſeleſs, if not deſtructive to humane Society.

Thus hath the Devil quenched (for what was but a Rivulet then, is now ſwelled to a Land-flood) that zeal with Hypocriſie, and its concomitants Shame and Reproach, which in my Father's Days reſiſted the Flames of the hotteſt Perſecution: For to avoid an imputation of Puritaniſm (a greater Rub in the way to preferment, than Vice) our Divines for the generality did ſacrifice more time to *Bacchus* than *Minerva*; and being excellent Company, drew the moſt ingenious Laity in a like exceſs: And for their ordinary Studies, they were School points and paſſionate expreſſions; as more converſant with the Friars than the Fathers, ſcorning in their ordinary diſcourſe at *Luther* and *Calvin*, but eſpecially at the laſt, ſo as I have heard a Biſhop *thank God he never* (tho' a good Poet himſelf) *had read a line in him or* Chaucer. The ſame uſed this ſimile in a Sermon at Court, *That our Religion, like the King's Arms, ſtood between two Beaſts, the Puritan and Papiſt*, which perhaps admitted of a better conſtruction than he meant, the laſt being like the Lion, eaſily known; but the firſt ſuitable to an Unicorn, never ſeen but in Painting. Nor was this Schiſm any ways dangerous, till King *James* (more it may be thought out of oſtentation, to ſhew ſuch parts as are nothing neceſſary, than Reaſon of State, only requiſite in a Prince) made it conſiderable, by putting it in competition with the Doctrine generally profeſt, in a Colloquie held before his Royal Perſon at *Hampton-Court:* where he ſinned

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ſo highly againſt the experience to be deduced from the *French* and *Scots*, who by offering the unqueſtioned, or at leaſt legal Profeſſion to Arbitration, have brought their Religious habit into ſuch a motley, as 'tis ſcarce diſcernable which ſide is the right, or with the moſt ſafety may be owned by the Magiſtrate. Since till that diſhonourable Diſpute, Who ſhould command, the *Dioceſan* or the Prieſt, none did boggle at the *Surplice*, *Croſs*, *Ring*, and ſo by conſequence the Common-prayer Book, but out of pure Conſcience, and therefore unlikely to hurt any beſides themſelves; till the number increaſing to ſuch a proportion, made a viſible profit appear to ſo many as wanting better imployment, could but conform their Mode, Words, and Looks to theſe Preciſions; though diſcrepant in heart from any thing the firſt owners of the title of Puritan did commonly practiſe in their converſation towards God and Man: This Generation being ordinarily found, eſpecially after any long admittance, ſo well acquainted with the Secrets of God, as to diſtinguiſh between the Reprobate and the Elect. Which Whimſey grew upon the King's Diſpoſition (whom you muſt preſume they overcame in noiſe, and all things elſe but Logick and Power) ſo univerſal, as it became a good Benefactor to all uncapable through Ignorance of any other preferment, and a Sanctuary to ſuch wicked perſons as had the Art to diſſemble a Repentance. Nor did the notorious Debauchery of the Epiſcopal Clergy add a little to the rent, much augmented by the Scotiſh propenſity of *Presbytery*, though the chiefeſt Promoters of it in their Doctrine and Example were the Lecturers, Vicars, and Parſons of inconſiderable Worth and Livings, being the readier to oppoſe Authority, as having little to loſe, becoming by this means the Darlings of the Rabble. Nor did the ſudden Tranſlations of Biſhops from leſs to greater Sees give time to viſit ſufficiently their reſpective Charges; being more intent upon the Receit of ſuch Taxes as a long abuſed Cuſtom had eſta-

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ted them in, than upon Reformation. I have been the more punctual, becauſe from the Pulpit came all our future Miſeries, God not being ſerved there as he ought. The Court-Sermons informing his Majeſty he might as Chriſt's Vicegerent Command all, and that the People, if they denied him ſupplement or inquired after the diſpoſure of it, were preſumptuous peepers into the ſacred Ark of the State; not to be done but under the ſevereſt curſe, though it appeared likely to fall through the falſhood or folly of thoſe at the Helm. But on the contrary the other qualified Preachers did fulminate againſt *Non Reſidence*, profanation of the Lord's Day, connivance at Popery, perſecution of God's People, only incluſive in their Congregations, and thoſe that ſupplied the wants of ſuch like Saints as themſelves, who maintained their Families and kept them in good plight out of the Faſts they did weekly aſſign, at firſt in private, and after before the Face of the Sun, and all this without or againſt the Leave of the Magiſtrate. But if this ſhould be proſecuted to its fartheſt extent, it would moderate, if not expunge all the Villany legible in Story.

17. Now by this time the Nation grew feeble, and over-preſt with Impoſitions, Monopolies, Aids, Privy Seals, Concealments, pretermitted Cuſtoms, *&c.* beſides all Forfeitures upon penal Statutes, with a multitude of Tricks more to cheat the Engliſh Subject (the moſt, if not all, unheard of in Queen *Elizabeth*'s days) which were ſpent upon the *Scots*: By whom nothing was unasked, and to whom nothing was denied; who for want of honeſt Traffique did extract Gold out of the Faults of the Engliſh, whoſe Pardons they begged, and ſold at intolerable Rates, Murder it ſelf not being exempted: Nay, I dare boldly ſay, one Man might with more ſafety have killed another, than a raſcal-Deer; But if a Stag had been known to have miſcarried, and the Author fled, a Proclamation with the deſcription of the party had been preſently penned by the At-

tor-

torney-general, and the penalty of his Majeſty's high Diſpleaſure (by which was underſtood the Star-Chamber) threatned againſt all that did abet, comfort or relieve him. Thus Satyrical, or, if you pleaſe, Tragical was this Sylvan Prince againſt Deer-killers, and indulgent to Man-ſlayers. But leſt this expreſſion ſhould be thought too Poetical for an Hiſtorian, I ſhall leave him dreſſed to Poſterity in the Colours I ſaw him in the next Progreſs after his Inauguration, which was as Green as the Graſs he trod on, with a Feather in his Cap, and a Horn inſtead of a Sword by his ſide: How ſuitable to his Age, Calling, or Perſon, I leave others to judge from his Pictures, he owning a Countenance not in the leaſt regard ſemblable to any my Eyes ever met with, beſides an Hoſt dwelling in *Anthil*, formerly a Shepherd, and ſo metaphorically of the ſame profeſſion: He that evening parted with his Queen, and to ſhew himſelf more uxorious before the People at his firſt coming than in private he was, he did at Her Coach ſide take his Leave, by Kiſſing her ſufficiently to the midle of her Shoulders, for ſo low ſhe went bare all the days I had the fortune to know her; having a Skin far more amiable than the Features it covered, though not the Diſpoſition, in which Report rendred her very debonair.

18. I do now conſent freely to the juſtneſs of their Award who may in this Age condemn of Vanity ſuch Obſervations as theſe: Yet having deduced from Experience that it is not only the Frailty but Cuſtom and pure Nature of Humanity to venerate the leaſt Splinter of Antiquity, beyond any thing bears the impreſs of the preſent Age, though commonly of no higher deſcent than the *Grecian* or *Roman* Monarchy, young and infantine in relation to the Worlds beginning, and ſo of an inconſiderable Force to conteſt with Printing, having themſelves with all the Monuments they could raiſe, been out-ſtripped by a number of Books that had nothing elſe to keep them alive but the Ink that dropped

ped from the Writers Pen. Nor ſhall I, encouraged by the Preſumption of this greater Advantage, refuſe to regiſter all I know, or do but firmly believe, as one delighting more in the Contemplation of a future Reſurrection in the Opinions of thoſe that may poſſeſs this Nation many Ages hence, than terrified with the Cenſures or Contempt of my own. Nor did I ever yet meet any Reaſon to alter the Confidence I have in ſome of my Contemporaries, that they equal, if not exceed ſuch as are moſt Celebrated in all things but Time: And he that is ſuch an Infidel in the Deſert of his Country as to deny it, I leave him to our former Sermons for his Converſion, and to the Stage for a final confutation of ſo much partiality. As for me, I ever aimed my indeavours rather at the ſatisfaction of a ſingle Reader like my ſelf, who only ſeeks to learn, than thoſe that think they are able to Teach: Who deal by Authors as the *Jews* did by our Saviour, that buried all the advantage might have been made of his Divinity, in the ſeeming frailties of his Humanity, without which they could not have had any commerce, or underſtanding of Truth, or drawn any Benefit from what others writ, or himſelf ſuffered. Neither can I apprehend it a greater Folly in me to regiſter the yellowneſs of Queen *Ann's* Hair, with other Levities (which may ſeem pertinent to poſterity though trivial now, yet of as high Concernment as *Caſar*'s Noſe) than for the Earl of *Arundel* to give ſo many hundred Crowns for an Urn a Maſon would not have valued at a Penny; yet he was not only commended but imitated by King *Charles*, who cannot appear ignorant to any ſo happy as to read what he hath left. And theſe are the Merchants I look one day to traffick with; in the mean time the ſtock of the Buyer need not to lie dead, having ſomething elſe of more credit in the Worlds opinion, though not in my own that writ it. But to ſound a Retreat to this ſally, I would fain know how theſe low circumſtances could be ſpared by ſuch Almanack-gazers, (that are none

none of the Bookſellers worſt Chapmen) who may give credit to the white King, or the viſion of one in Green ſaid to be averred from *Italy* by ——— though I take ſuch predictions upon no more ſolid an account, than flying Vapours, the former terrified imaginations of a diſcontented people do not ſeldom rally into the prodigious ſhapes of Armies and fighting Men.

19. All Kings caſt away Money at the day of their Enthronement, but King *James* did it all his life. And here to ſpeak God's truth, what better meaſure could be expected from that Line, the Engliſh folly or hypocriſie had rendred Motherleſs, by the infamous and unprincely mediation of a Hangman. But the fault in ſuffering an Alien by birth, no leſs than an Enemy in affection to enter by any wider admittance than through both Houſes of Parliament, hath not only given the Nation in general, but the Earl of *Northamberland* in particular, ſufficient cauſe to wipe their eyes: Who cannot but leave to poſterity the Scars, if not Wounds, received from ſuch a blind miſtake as the imagining any future obligation or precedent benefit ſhould expunge out of the heart of a Prince (that apprehends nothing about him but what he takes as his due by inheritance) the marks of a former injury, or a jealouſie depending on an after fear. For the thoughts of Kings, when eſtabliſhed, are ſo far altered, as to receive inſpirations from no remoter intereſts than what their own paſſions direct them to, unleſs compelled: So as King *James*, not taking his proſpect from the love ſhewn in his quiet admittance, but the height of his Subjects power, began to muſter up the Armies the Engliſh had raiſed againſt his Native Country; and not only to meaſure, but to weigh the blood ſpilt on the borders; amongſt which he found that of *James* the Fifth mingled with his Allies, which prompted him no leſs to revenge, than the many perjuries, cruelties, and perfidious carriages of his Anceſtors, ſtill hanging on a File in the Engliſh Memory, did to diſtruſt. Nor

had the Earl of *Northumberland*, of honourable extraction and exquiſite erudition, tho' muffled with love to the perſon of that Prince and his own Ambition, any Reaſon to think the Memory of the Money he ſupplied him with in *Scotland*, would not quite vaniſh upon the firſt apparition of the Exchequer at *Weſtminſter*; or that the Forces he offered to raiſe in his Favour, in caſe of Oppoſition, would ſeem leſs formidable to him when quiet in his Chair: where once placed, Monarchs do rather ruminate on future Dangers than former Benefits: Kings like imperious Husbands, perverting after Marriage, thoſe ſtolen Favours into Jealouſie, that before an indiſſoluble Intereſt were reckoned for Marks of no leſs Obligation than Confidence; out of a diſtruſt, that upon diſcontent, the ſame Arts and Careſſes may be imployed to their damage. However this ſuited with *Northumberland*'s Senſe, I am ſure it fell pat with his Succeſs; for after endeavour failed to find him ſo far ſmutted with the Gun-Powder Plot as might engage his Life, he was caſt into the Star-chamber, that Den of Arbitrary Juſtice, where the Keeper for the time being, two Biſhops, Two Judges, and as many wiſe Lords and honeſt great Officers ſate, as were pleaſed to come; the moſt of whom, though unable to render a Reaſon for the Cenſure, did, every *Wedneſday* and *Friday* in Term time, concur like, *&c.* to tear ſuch as refuſed to worſhip the Minion, or to yield to the pretended Royal Prerogative. Nor did they ſcape who were any way Satyrical, a thing not to be avoided by the Lovers of Truth; Corruption being as common as execution, with which it ſeldom went other than hand in hand: But the main imployment of this Court, was, like School-boys, to hold up one the other whilſt their Maſter whipt them. Amongſt whom was this Earl fined (if I miſtake not) at 20000 *l.* with impriſonment in the Tower during his Majeſty's Pleaſure, which was ſo great, that he kept him in there divers years, upon what ſcore was not then ſo eaſily diſcerned: for if

Percy

Percy was his Kinſman, it is as true that he had lain many nights in the King's Chamber before he came hither, and been imployed in private by him to the Engliſh Catholicks, yet His Majeſty would have taken it ill to have been thought a Papiſt, or a Conſpirer of Queen *Elizabeth*'s death. Not to proceed farther upon an exaſperated and ſingle evidence, otherwiſe than that it did not ſuit with any thing I could obſerve in his temper, much leſs with a perſon of his Honour and Fortune to exchange ſo happy a preſent condition, for any future advantage he could hope to ſcramble out from amongſt Cinders and Ruins of his Country.

20. It was the faſhion of thoſe times, and did ſo continue till theſe (wherein not only the Mother but her Daughters are ruined) for the principal Gentry, Lords, Courtiers, and men of all Profeſſions not meerly Mechanick, to meet in St. *Paul*'s Church by eleven, and walk in the middle Iſle till twelve; and after dinner, from three to ſix; during which time ſome diſcourſed of Buſineſs, others of News. Now, in regard of the univerſal commerce, there happened little that did not firſt or laſt arrive here: And I being young, and wanting a more advantagious imployment, did, during my abode in *London*, which was three fourth parts of the year, aſſociate my ſelf at thoſe hours with the choiceſt company I could pick out, amongſt ſuch as I found moſt inquiſitive after affairs of State; who being then my ſelf in a daily attendance upon a hope (though a rotten one) of a future preferment, I appeared the more conſiderable, being as ready to ſatisfie, according to my weak abilities, their Curioſity, as they were mine: who out of a candid nature were not ordinarily found to name an Author, eaſily loſt in ſuch a Concourſe, where his own report was not ſeldom within few minutes returned to him for News by another. And theſe News-Mongers, as they called them, did not only take the boldneſs to weigh the publick, but moſt intrinſick actions of the State, which ſome

Courtier or other did betray to this Society: Amongſt whom divers being very rich had great ſums owing them by ſuch as ſtood next the Throne, who by his means were rendred in a manner their Penſioners; ſo as I have found ſince little Reaſon to queſtion the truth of what I heard then, but much to confirm me in it; wherefore the bolder to inſert a Report then current; which was, the King thought *Northumberland* too intimate with his Son *Henry*, who in vindication of this Earl's perſecution caſt a malignant aſpect upon the Houſes of *Suffolk* and *Sarisbury*, thought no ways avertible but by his Death. But ſince a likely Lie may with more manners and leſs reproach be impoſed upon Belief, than an improbable Truth without witneſs, I ſhall for this time wade no farther in the preſent diſcourſe, already thought dry in the memory of the moſt. Though this remains upon record, that brave *Forteſcue*, that did firſt oppoſe this Scotiſh ſucceſſion but upon Caution, enjoyed his liberty, without any more conſiderable loſs than ſuſtained by the exchange of the Chancellour's place in the Exchequer, for that in the Dutchy of *Lancaſter*, remaining to the laſt a Counſellor: whereas *Northumberland*, that had drawn his Sword in his favour, was made Captive, diſgraced and inſulted over by his Enemies: Which, Fortune, to render it more terrible did ſome years after alot his Son the Lord *Percy* a Wife out of the Family of *Sarisbury*, whoſe Blood the Father ſaid, would not mingle in a Baſon, ſo averſe was he from it. Nor had *Forteſcue* better ſucceſs, when, by a huge Entertainment at *Cornbury*, he went about to oblige the King; for as *Tomlins*, once his Secretary, told me, He at his parting laughed, and let a ——— in the Porch. Wherefore we may note it, as equally pernicious to oblige a Prince above a reaſonable requital, as to oppoſe him beyond the extent of a moderate patience.

21. About this time the Puritans exaſperated by the Biſhops (who to render their preſements of more con-

conſequence to Monarchy, upon whoſe dependance they now only ſubſiſted, would not ſuffer them to be ſo long at quiet as might give them leave to recover their ſenſes) did in a ſubmiſſive way (encouraged by the *Hugonots* ſucceſs) mediate another Colloquie before the King, whom they endeavoured to draw to their party by the high eſteem pretended they had of his Learning, though Church-land was the moſt pious inducement in the eyes of thoſe *Scotch* and *Engliſh* that did prompt them to it upon promiſe of their beſt aſſiſtance: But his Majeſty having found by his former experience, that Schiſms are attended with a ſmaller train of Inconveniences, and eaſier buried and with leſs clamour, in Sufferance and Contempt, than by Oppoſition or Diſputation, did moſt ſtifly deny it, appearing highly diſpleaſed; that after ſo manifeſt a conviction, he ſhould again be tempted to hazard his Reaſon againſt ſuch as had nothing but a brutiſh obſtinacy to oppoſe: which anſwer was allowed of as far more Majeſtical and politick than his former conceſſion in deſcending to a formal diſputation: ſince Opinions rooted by deſcent, are ſooner chilled through want of preferments, than eradicated by power, which arraigns the expoſing of any Religion to conteſt as dangerous, ſeeing all at this day in veneration are under perſecution in ſome place or other, wherefore unable to ſilence the reaſon of thoſe formerly ſuborned through a contrary Education.

22. In the mean time this Nation was rooted up by thoſe *Caledonian* Boors, as theſe homely Verſes do atteſt, which were every where poſted, and do contain as many ſtories as Lines, which I ſhall explain, though they may poſſibly fall out of order, it not ſuiting with the liberty of a Spirit, that walks rather for its own exerciſe than the inſtruction of an ignorant and ungrateful State, to be punctual.

They beg our Lands, *our* Goods, *our* Lives;
They Switch *our* Nobles, *and lie with their* Wives,
They Pinch *our* Gentry, *and ſend for our* Benchers,
They Stab *our* Serjeants, *and piſtol our* Fencers.

That they were gracious with the Engliſh Ladies none can doubt that hath had but the opportunity to peep into a Court, where the Love of Women is found a conſequence of the favour of the Prince.

23. Wherefore I ſhall take my firſt riſe from him that was then *Philip Herbert*, ſince Earl of *Montgomery*, a man careſſed by King *James* for his handſome face, which kept him not long Company, leaving little behind it ſo acceptable as to render him fit ſociety for any body but himſelf, and ſuch Books as Poſterity may find ordinarily dedicated to him, which might yet have prompted his underſtanding to a more candid proceeding than he uſed at *Oxford*, where he exerciſed greater paſſion againſt Learning, that had by teaching Books to ſpeak Engliſh endeavoured to make him wiſe, than he did towards *Ramſey*, who by ſwitching him on the face at *Croyden*, rendred him ridiculous: It was at a Horſe-race where many both *Scotch* and Engliſh met; The latter of which did upon this accident draw together with a reſolution to make it a National Quarrel, ſo far as Mr. *John Pinchback*, though a maimed Man, having but the perfect uſe of 2 Fingers, rode about with his Dagger in his hand, crying, *Let us break our Faſt with them here, and dine with the reſt at London.* But *Herbert* not offering to ſtrike again, there was nothing ſpilt but the Reputation of a Gentleman; in lieu of which, if I am not miſtaken, the King made him a Knight, a Baron, a Viſcount, and an Earl in one day, as he well deſerved, having for his ſake, or rather out of fear, tranſgreſſed againſt all the Gradations of Honour. For if he had not torn to Rags that Coat of Arms, ſo often in my hearing bragged of, and ſo ſtanched the Blood then ready to be ſpilt, not only

that

that Day, but all after muſt have proved fatal to the *Scots*, ſo long as any had ſtaid in *England*; the Royal Family excepted, which in reſpect to Majeſty, or their own Safety, they muſt have ſpared, or the Kingdom been left to the miſery of ſeeing ſo much Blood laid out as the trial of ſo many crabbed Titles would have requir'd; there being then, according to Report, no leſs than Fourteen, of which *Parſons* the Jeſuit, ſo impudent is this Fraternity, makes the *Infanta* the Firſt. But they could not be theſe Conſiderations that reſtrained *Herbert*, who wanted Leiſure no leſs than Capacity to uſe them, though laid in his Way by others: And therefore if this Effeminacy produced good to the Nation (at that time doubted by many) the Honour is only due to God, whoſe miraculous Power was no leſs manifeſted (upon ſo high a Provocation and great Encouragement as the whole Field afforded *Philip*) in raiſing ſo much Flegm in a Man nobly born as might maſter ſo great a Fury, than when he diſcovered to *Sampſon* a cold Fountain in the Jaw-bone of an Aſs. And ſuch of his Friends as blame his Youth for doing nothing, take away all Excuſe could have been made for him, had he done too much: ſince all commonly arrive at the Years of Valour, before they can attain to thoſe of Diſcretion. This I can atteſt for the Man, That he was intolerably cholerick and offenſive, and did not refrain whilſt he was Chamberlain, to break many wiſer heads than his own: Mr. *May* that tranſlated *Lucan* having felt the weight of his Staff; which, had not his Office, and the place, being the Banquetting Houſe, protected, I queſtion whether he would ever have ſtruck again: *So diſobliging were the moſt grateful pleaſures of the Court*; whoſe Masks and other Spectacles, though they wholly intended them for ſhew, and would not have been pleaſed without great ſtore of Company, yet did not ſpare to affront ſuch as came to ſee them: Which accuſeth the King no leſs of Folly, in being at ſo vaſt an expe ce for that which ſignified

nothing, but in relation to pride and Luſt, than the Spectators (I mean ſuch as were not invited) of madneſs, who did not only give themſelves the diſcompoſure of Body attending ſuch irregular Hours, but to others an opportunity to abuſe them. Nor could I, that had none of their ſhare that paſſed through the moſt incommodious acceſs, count my ſelf any greater gainer (who did ever find ſome time before the grand night to view the Scene) after I had reckoned my attendance and ſleep: there appearing little obſervable, beſides the Company, and what Imagination might conjecture from the placing of the Ladies, and the immenſe charge and univerſal vanity in clothes, *&c.*

24. I have been told the Mother of *Herbert* tore her Hair at the Report of her Son's Diſhonour, who, I am confident, upon a like opportunity would have ranſomed her own repute, if ſhe had not redeemed her Countries. She was that Siſter to Sir *Philip Sidney* to whom he addreſſed his *Arcadia*, and of whom he had no other advantage than what he received from that partial benevolence of Fortune, in making him a Man; which yet ſhe did in ſome Judgments, recompenſe in beauty. Her Pen being nothing ſhort of his, as I am ready to atteſt, as far as ſo inferiour a Reaſon may be taken, having ſeen imcomparable Letters of hers. But leſt I ſhould ſeem to treſpaſs upon Truth, which few do unſuborned, as I proteſt I am, unleſs by her Rhetorick, I ſhall leave the World her Epitaph, in which the Author doth manifeſt himſelf a Poet in all things but Untruth.

Underneath this Sable Herſe
Lies the Subject of all Verſe:
Sidney's *Siſter*, Pembrok's *Mother*;
Death ere thou killeſt ſuch another,
Fair and Good and Learn'd as ſhe,
Time ſhall throw a Dart at thee.
Marble Piles let no Man raiſe

To

To her Name, for after days
Some kind Woman born as ſhe
Reading this, like Niobe
Shall turn Statue, and become
Both her Mourner and her Tomb.

25. In the mean time the King was much troubled at this Accident, not being able to ruminate upon the Conſequence it might have produced, without trembling: Nor could he refrain from letting fall ſharp expreſſions againſt the Inſolency of the *Scots*, and folly of the Engliſh, whoſe blood he pretended to indulge moſt both within and without him: But this he ſoon retracted, carrying ſuch an awful Reverence to his own Countrymen, who had chaſtiſed him in his Mother's belly, as he durſt not diſpleaſe them, out of fear to find himſelf deſerted. It being paſt peradventure that he never looked upon the Engliſh as friends, the cauſe he rejoiced in nothing more than promoting Exceſs, by which he hoped to ruin Nobility and Gentry. But however remote his Affections were, he durſt not but baniſh *Ramſey* the Court, a poor ſatisfaction for *Herbert*, that had left nothing to teſtifie his Manhood but a beard and Children, by that Daughter of the laſt great Earl of *Oxford*, whoſe Lady was brought to his Bed under the notion of his Miſtreſs, and from ſuch a vertuous deceit ſhe is ſaid to proceed.

26. One thing was then remarkable at *Croyden* field, that none but Sr. *Edward Sackvile*, of the Engliſh, went on the *Scots* ſide, and he out of love to the Lord *Bruce*, whom he after killed in a Duel; which was ſo ill taken by his Countrymen, as divers, proteſted, that if the fray had ſucceeded, he was the firſt likely to have fallen.

27. The ſecond matter of worth in the Verſes concerns Mr. *Edward Hawley*, an intimate acquaintance of mine, who coming to Court on a grand day, *Maxwel* (more famous for this and Wealth, than Civility or Edu-

Education, not being ever able to read or write) led him out of the Room by a black String he wore in his ear, a Fashion then much in use. But this had like to have cost warm blood, *Hawly* appearing of another temper than he at *Croyden*. Besides, being of *Grays-Inn*, not only his Society, but all Gentry in *London* took themselves concerned so far, as meer Strangers flocked to his Chamber, and though more than needed (he being apt enough to Revenge himself) they besought him to remember he had the Honour of all the English Gentry in his hands, and if managed with Gallantry and Discretion, he should find enough to stand by him, many offering to become his Seconds, which he could not accept, having before made choice of Mr. *Jo. Thoroughgood* since Knighted, who told *Maxwel*, if he refused to fight, *Hawley* would kill him where-ever he met with an opportunity; which so frighted King *James*, that he sent for the *Benchers*, and through the mediation of Chancellor *Bacon*, formerly of the same Society, took up the Quarrel, forcing the *Scot* to give humble satisfaction, to a quiet admission of what Mr. *Hawley* should desire: And to solder up the breach, the Students of *Grays-Inn* performed an exquisite Mask before his Majesty, by whom they were invited to a great Banquet; whereat the Gentlemen, *something contrary to the rules of Civility*, were so hasty, as to scramble, rather than feed: for which they underwent a sharp censure, being in the presence of many *Scots*, who looked upon it with scorn, tho' owned themselves for Masters of no great Modesty. Besides, when they kissed the Kings hand, many put it to their Lips with their own, looked on at Court for a low absurdity.

28. The third relates to one *Murray*, who killed, by the help of his men, a Serjeant that came to Arrest him under or near *Ludgate*; for which, more to satisfie the Sheriffs of *London*, than Justice, the two Servants were hanged, and the Master who was principal, tho' with some difficulty, escaped. But the Lord *Zan-*

kor

lor found no ſuch favour for killing *Turner* the *Fencer* who was a Man of eminent parts, and ſo better deſerved it, yet his Servants and he were executed: by whoſe death the King ſatisfied in part the people, and wholly himſelf; it being thought he hated him for his love to the King of *France*, and not making any reply when he ſaid in his preſence to one that called our *James* a ſecond *Solomon*, *that he hoped he was not* David *the Fiddler's Son.* Thus do Princes abuſe one another.

29. In this place my memory preſents me with Sir *Robert Cecil*, after Earl of *Sarisbury*, famed for the moſt mortal Enemy of the Earl of *Eſſex*, and a ſeducer of the King, by perſwading him this Nation was ſo rich, *it could neither be exhauſted nor provoked*; A ſaying generally laid to his charge, yet contradicted in this practice of his; for the Earl of *Somerſet*, being in the flower of his favour before he had either Wife, or Beard, had got a peremptory Warrant to the Treaſurer for 20000*l*; who, in his exquiſite Prudence, finding that not only the Exchequer, but the *Indies* themſelves would in time want fluency to feed ſo immenſe a prodigality, and not without reaſon apprehending the King as ignorant in the value of what was demanded, as the deſert of the Perſon that begged it; and knowing a Pound, upon the *Scotch* accompt, would not pay for the ſhooing of a Horſe, by which his Maſter might be farther led out of the way of thrift, than in his own Nature he was willing to go, being obſerved very tenacious in the diſtribution of any money paſſed through his hands, or in his preſence; laid the former mentioned ſum upon the ground in a room through which his Majeſty was to paſs: who amazed at the quantity, as a ſight not unpoſſibly his eyes never ſaw before, asked the Treaſurer, *Whoſe money it was*; who anſwered, *Yours before you gave it away:* Whereupon the King fell into paſſion, proteſting he was abuſed, never intending any ſuch gift: And caſting himſelf upon the heap, ſcrabled out the quantity of 2 or 300 pounds, and ſwore he ſhould have

have no more: However it became the Kings Minion, *Cecil* durſt not provoke him farther than by permitting him only the Moiety. But this not working a perfect cure upon his Maſter's profuſeneſs, or with the reſt of his Vertues being hid from the knowledge of the Menu, who like Flies feaſt their Affections upon the Corruptions, rather than ſounder parts of Great Men; and having before had ſuch a duſt raiſed in their Cholers, by his ſharp proceedings againſt the late Earl of *Eſſex*, and his Encloſures of *Hatfield Chaſe* (after he had to his ſo great advantage exchanged it for his Mannor of *Theobalds*) that the black cloud of detraction fell upon all he ſaid or did: To which the Misfortunes accompanying him from his Birth, did not a little add, a Mulct in Nature, like an Optick Spectacle, multiplying much, in the ſight of the People, the apparitions of ill. Nor was his Death, by prejudice looked upon as *Herod*'s, nor the place it attached him on, *viz. Salisbury-Plain* in his Coach, nor *Po* his Phyſician then preſent (a meer Empirick, and celebrated for no skill but in the cure of the *&c.*) ſmall inducement to the Reports which followed: yet when theſe were ſpent, and he as it were retired into that Sanctuary that doth hide reproach rather than increaſe it, inexorable Fate, by the aſſiſtance perhaps of ſome Impoſthume, (which his maligners tranſlated into an effect of God's vengeance, and dedicated it to his farther Infamy) brake the Lead he was wrapped in, with ſo much noiſe and ſtench as affrighted the by-ſtanders: Therefore no wonder he met with no fairer Encomiums, of which I ſhall relate theſe, not ſavouring ſo much of ſcurrility, though perhaps leſs of Wit than many did then current.

Here lies thrown, for the Worms to eat,
Little Boſſive Robin, *that was ſo great.*
Not Robin-Goodfellow, *nor* Robin-Hood,
But Robin *the Encloſer of* Hatfield *Wood:*
Who ſeem'd as ſent from ugly Fate,

To

To ſpoil the Prince and rob the State.
Owning a Mind of diſmal ends,
As Traps for Foes, and Tricks for Friends.
But now in Hatfield *lies the*———
Who ſtank while he liv'd, and died of the———

It may be judged by theſe, how future Chronicles agree with common fame, which, in my opinion ought not to be rejected, if not chiefly relied upon. Thoſe that follow came from ſo ſmart a Pen in the King's ſenſe, that he ſaid, *he hoped the Author would die before him:* who it was God knows.

Here lies Hobinal, *our* Paſtor *while e'er,*
That once in a Quarter our Fleeces *did ſhear.*
To pleaſe us, his Curr *he kept under* Clog.
And he was ever after both Shepherd *and* Dog,
For Oblation *to* Pan *his cuſtom was thus,*
He firſt gave a Trifle, *then offered up* Us:
And through his falſe Worſhip *ſuch power he did gain,*
As kept him o'th Mountain, *and us on the* Plain.
Where many a Horn-pipe *he turn'd to his* Phyllis,
And ſweetly ſang Walſingham *to's* Amaryllis.
Till Atropos *clapt him, a Pox on the Drab,*
For (ſpight of his Tarbox) *he died of the* Scab.

It is poſſible Poſterity may find a Key to theſe Verſes; if not, the loſs is not ſo much: however it will not be uneaſie for her to make one able to ſerve their turn that never knew the right.

How many ſoever his Faults were, he was of an incomparable Prudence, and coming ſo near after ſuch an unadviſed ſcatterer as King *James*, he might have feathered his Family better than he did, but that he looked upon low things with contempt, leaving much to the gleaning of his Servants, of which many came after into high places. Nor may that be unproperly applied to him, which is, in another caſe, ſaid of

Gregory

Gregory the Great, *that he was the first ill Treasurer, and the last good, since Queen* Elizabeth's *days*: He not standing charged with any grosser Bribery or Corruption than what lay inclusive under the Ceremony of New-years Gifts, or his own, or Servants sharing with such as by importunity rather than merit had obtained Debentures out of the Exchequer; which through these courses came at last to be so far exhausted, as it was not able to feed the Privy-Purse, and bear the necessary charges of the Houshold. And this put him upon an improvement of the Customs, to the great discouragement of Merchants; no less than the project of Baronets, intended at first for a meer Cheat (as a person of Honour, and no stranger to *Cecil* did protest) had not the great concourse that crouded after this Title (rendred infamous by the base consideration of Money inserted in their Patent) kept it in repute; there having been a Motion made, if not a Bill put in the last Parliament of King *James* against it: no more being by the primitive Institution to be admitted than two hundred, and they so qualified, as were hard to be found, and so the likelier to be laught out of it after their money paid, which was all the Treasurer desired: who did not by it intend to put any affront upon the Knights Batchelours, as was supposed, and he in some disdain questioned for it. But the Sale of Crown Timber appeared of saddest consequence to the safety of the Nation in relation to the Navy, the Walls of the Kingdom: English Oak being then esteemed of as the best for a Sea-fight, not being apt to cleave upon the receipt of a Shot, but rather bore: and of these millions were felled and sold at vile prizes, not only during the life of the Earl of *Salisbury*, but all the Reign of King *James*.

30. Now though there did no degrees of Comparison appear in the wills of those Northern Adjectives, not able to subsist without *England*, who like their Ancestors did exchange a Wilderness for a *Canaan*, yet much

much more miſchief reſided in the power of ſome than others; amongſt whom now freſh in my Memory are the Lords *Roxborrow*, *Felton*, *Carliſle*, and *Dunbar*, that during the Reign of this King lay ſucking at the breaſts of the State, nor were ſome of them weaned long after his Death; the laſt of which ſwallowed at one gulp together with the Chancellorſhip of the Exchequer, all the ſtanding Wardrobe, wherein were more Jewels, Pearls, Rich Robes, and Princely Apparel, than ever any King of *Scotland* (if all of them put together) could call his own before; all which I have ſince heard rated by the Officers at an incredible Sum, whoſe Servants did uſe to ſhew them for money, it appearing none of the leaſt rarities in *London* before this great Diſſolution. And for *James Hayes*, after Earl of *Carliſle*, though of no more Noble extraction than the immediate Son of a *Scotch* Merchant, an appellation ſome under a Stall would ſcorn to Patronize, it is known he did beſtow more trimming in the varniſh of a Wainſcot Carcaſs, than any of his Maſters Anceſtors did in the clothing themſelves and their whole Families. Nor was the Honour of *Anbil* a ſmall Preſent made at one time to the Earl of *Kelly*, eſpecially by a Prince that had never been able to match it, but through the benevolence, if I may not rate it at the folly of a Nation, of whoſe ruin he became the firſt and principal Inſtrument. Yet as if theſe ancient Standards, and ſo by conſequence the more tolerable, becauſe Companions in his lower condition, had not been enough to eclipſe the glory of *England*, this ungrateful Prince (if I may call him ſo that cannot in Juſtice deſerve, from one born under Queen *Elizabeth*, a better Title) to make our miſeries hereditary, called up *Robert Carre* from a poor Page, and to the diſhonour of our Ancient Nobility, raiſed him to as high a Title, and as great an Eſtate (three hundred thouſand pounds being rated to the Crown upon his fall) as moſt Earls of *England*: But there appears ſo many leaves lying between his advance-

vancement and ruin, as I am not at this time prepared to remove.

31. King *James* ſtudying only to keep things quiet during his own time, without any other care of his Poſterity than what related to the ſafety they brought to his perſon, and finding Biſhops the beſt Church-Government yet diſcovered in the purſuance of Monarchy, whereas a Parity in Eccleſiaſtical affairs did protend a propenſity to Popularity in the State. He looked upon Presbytery in his own Country with no leſs fear than diſdain: yet believing it unpoſſible to unhinge the Nobility and Gentry from the hold they had already taken on the Clergy, in which they lay the beſt claim they had to Church-Lands, nor the Prieſts from their Patrons to whom they were Houſhold Chaplains, or of ſo mean parts as unlikely to hold the pittance they enjoyed in the company of any ſeverer power than their own; beſides the nature of man is better content with a little in freedom, than far more with conſtraint. He endeavour'd to joyn both Nations in a Union; but not willing to gratifie the Engliſh ſo much as to make them participate of the Scottiſh Immunities, but rather to bend their necks to our yoke, he intimates a Parliament; and before their aſſembling endeavours to ſuborn by large promiſes all the popular and principal ſpeakers; hoping, the Vowels being at his devotion, to make the Conſonants comply with any voice in what ſenſe he was pleaſed to put upon them, or loſe themſelves in inſignificant Clamours. *The ſame project and endeavour by corrupting members, was uſed about ſeven years after in the Parliament of Undertakers, where certain Bills of Grace (as they called them) were offered to the Houſe of Commons, by the Earl of* Somerſet. The firſt propoſition, and that which came fulleſt up to the King's deſign, was this; *That as both Nations were under one Prince, the way to obliterate all former or future difference, was to ſubmit both to one Law*; without manifeſting that partial reſolution he had, rather to remain

where

where he was, than ſuffer the Engliſh to ſhare in the priviledges of *Scotland*; imagining it no hard matter, upon ſo eminent an advantage to bring the leſs readily to ſubmit to the greater, and that where the Court did commonly reſide: by which he had with one buſh ſtopped two of the greateſt gaps did then appear open in his Prerogative. But to this he received a like anſwer from his Countreymen, *That in* France, Spain, *and the* Netherlands, *many Laws and Uſances were proper to ſome Provinces, Cities, and Towns, that did not extend to other parts, though in groſs under the ſame Capital Power. Nor were the Cuſtoms of* Kent, *the Iſles of* Wight, Guernſey, *and* Jerſey, &c. *communicable with the reſt of* England, *notwithſtanding the contrary endeavours of many Kings and Queens of the Nation: wherefore his Majeſty might gueſs at the difficulties of the attempt, to perſwade the Subject out of thoſe Laws from whence he received any perſonal benefit, by his own and all Princes elſe unwillingneſs to augment them.* Nor could they for the preſent, without expoſing his antient and native Country to a rupture, innovate any thing in Church Government: yet upon the King's promiſe to the Nobility, and his future real performance, they found a room in their Conſciences for Biſhops. Tho' under this fatal prediction, grounded upon the Incompliancy of the Epiſcopal Clergy and their natural propenſity to dilate their power, that it would ruin one, if not both the Nations, which our eyes have been ſo unhappy as to ſee accompliſhed; and through the ſelf-ſame mediation, from which wiſdom expected it ſhould come many years before. Now after the wily *Scots* had purged and diſcharged the Union from any taſte or colour of malignity towards their own Nation, they drove it on with the furiouſneſs of *Jehu:* But the Engliſh Parliament found Members enough intire in the duty they owed to their Country, ſo far to outvote thoſe Laymen in their integrity through the hope of preferment, as they appeared inconſiderable for Power or good Conduct in the eyes of

their Prince, and no leſs baſe and corrupt in thoſe of the People; upon whoſe Miſcarriage all hope of Good was retracted; King *James* ſharing ſo large a Proportion in the Folly of Princes, that he never gratified the Subject, but upon urgent Neceſſity, or by way of Barter; which made their Repreſentative conſider him at beſt but in the relation of a Merchant, and themſelves as Countrymen brought up only to be couzned.

32. Yet the many no leſs better than rational Speeches made in the Houſe of Commons againſt this Conjunction, could not rebate the Scotiſh Impudence, from endeavouring to bring in by the back and formerly unknown way of Prerogative, that as the Parliament, hitherto the ſole Guard of Property, had refuſed all Hope of Entrance to, through any Legal Paſſage. And for the more effectual Promotion of this, the Earl of *Dunbar*, making uſe of the Advantage his place offered him, did ſound the Barons of the Exchequer, and though *Altam* and his Brother afforded him ſmall Encouragement, *Tanfield* and *Snig*, the firſt no leſs famed for Corruption, than the other for Ignorance, gave him the Aſſurance of their Compliance in Judgment: With whom *Cook* was reported to concur, though a known Antagoniſt to the Chief Baron *Tanfield* in moſt things elſe, wherein any Difficulty did ſeem to appear. But though two of theſe had gained the hight of Opinion for Law in thoſe Times, *Cook* was thought over-full of Levity, and both of them too low ſituated in Honour and Grace with the Nobility, to drive on ſo weighty and ungrateful a deſign, with any hope of better ſucceſs than contempt, or a preſent Confutation: Wherefore the Chancellour *Egerton* was prevailed upon ſo far, partly out of Hope, but chiefly for Fear, leſt the King (as after he did) ſhould ſend him a Writ of Eaſe, grown now old, or by calling his Corruption into queſtion diſcharge him of his Imployment, did undertake in the Star-chamber, to prove in a long Speech, *That all the* Scots *born ſince his Majeſty's*

poſſeſſion

poſſeſſion of the Crown of England, *were legally free Denizens of this Nation:* King *James* refuſing to include thoſe formerly in being, leſt he ſhould in his own time have taſted the bitter Conſequence of ſo unjuſt an Intruſion upon the Liberty of that People which had without any Diſturbance ſuffered him to enter. And this Argument rendred the Chancellor ſeven times more the object of Reproach than he was before. The Speech being thought by the Engliſh above the deſert of the cauſe, as too elaborate, conſidering the Prejudice it brought, and by the *Scots* below it, many of his own Profeſſion arraigning it of Ignorance and Miſtakes: But the Commons looked upon him as the owner, not only of a brazen Impudence in daring to oppoſe his ſingle Opinion to a whole Parliament, but were ready to hiſs at the Invalidity of his Aſſertions, Proteſting them as much againſt Law (in which, having no Skill, I ſhall not meddle) as Reaſon, Conſcience, and the general Proceedings of the World both antient and modern.

33. The Promoters of the Union in the Houſe of Commons, no leſs than the Chancellor in the Houſe of Lords, did, beſides many Rebukes and Scoffs, meet with ſome ſuch Anſwers as theſe: *That ſince no Lord of a Rich Mannor would accept the Offer of one more poor, upon the Condition of Enter-Commoning, leſt he ſhould beggar his beſt Tenants, without making his worſt Conſiderable: ſo, &c.*

That no People indued with the natural Deſire of Preſervation, being happy at that Inſtant, would admit the Prince of a Beggerly Nation to reign over them, how juſt ſo ever his Claim was, for fear of loſing their Propriety, as dear as Life it ſelf, and ſo as vigorous to be defended.

Some Corporations explode for Foreigners ſuch as are not bred in the place; All thoſe born out of the Nation. And if theſe laſt Objections owned a Countenance ſtern enough in the Opinions of many to face the entrance of *James* himſelf, it cannot but raiſe a Doubt how his

Admittance should make way for the whole Nation to follow him.

He that considers the Enmity that hath ever been between Scotland *and* England, *with their propensity to drive on a Feud through many Generations, cannot think of our mixing without trembling; there being some affinity in Blood, Laws, Customs, and Affection betwixt the Welch and us, none, with,* &c.

If the French, *being in our possession, were allowed to export Wool, Cloth,* &c. *it was in lieu of Wine and other Commodities they brought us: But what have the* Scots *of their own growth but Eggs, Barnicles, and such drugs for the cure of the* Jaundice, *as may be found under our Hedges, though not in so great quantities. Wherefore since in all Communities, a reciprocal Contribution is required, and without which the Body Politick cannot flourish, what an irreparable Loss should we have sustained through such a Conjunction.*

The Romans *had many rich Cities, Nations, and Colonies, that were not sharers in the freedom of* Rome, *looked upon as a special Favour and only Communicable at the benevolence of the Senate; Legible in their Story, no less than the Scripture, where though Saint* Paul *was free born,* Claudius Lysias *the chief Captain, far above him in Dignity, was fain to obtain it for a great Summ.*

Though Sicily, Naples, Milan, *be within the Title, no less than Jurisdiction of the most Catholick King, yet these have no more power to trade in the* Indies, *than those unhappy People have to traffick in any part of* Castile.

Nature hath taught every Nation a particular Ingenuity to provide for its own Necessities, which upon the access of another, must be either exceeded, and so undone, or go beyond the new Comer, and ruin him. Therefore since we had no want of Inhabitants of our own, such a beggerly addition must needs be destructive. The Scot *like the poor* Swiss (*yet better provided for, and nearer the Sun than he*) *finds a more commodious abiding under every Climate, than at home; which as it makes the* Swiss *to venture their Lives in the quar-*

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rel of any Prince for Money; ſo this Northern people are known to do, or turn Pedlers, being become ſo cunning thro' Neceſſity, that they ruin all about them: Manifeſt in Ireland, *where they uſually ſay,* None of any other Country can proſper that come to live within the Kenning of a *Scot.*

If our Saviour Chriſt, The King of Kings, whoſe Treaſure can never be exhauſted, ſaid, though in another dialect, It is not meet, *that is, not juſt, nor expedient,* to give the Childrens bread to, &c. *can any think it prudent or legal to ſhare the Fruits of* England *with the* Sons *of the* Locuſt *and* Daughters *of the* Horſe-Leech?

To conclude, Reaſon would fain be ſatisfied from thoſe that maintain the Legality of the Union: *Whether if Queen* Elizabeth *had married the Duke of* Moſcovy, *as he did by his Ambaſſadors deſire it, that whole Nation (though far above* Scotland *in value) ſhould have had a natural Denization in* England.

34. At this time the Honour of Knighthood, which Antiquity preſerved ſacred, as the cheapeſt and readieſt Jewel to preſent Virtue with, was promiſcuouſly laid on any Head belonging to the Yeomandry, (made addle through pride and a contempt of their Anceſtors Pedigree) that had but a Court-friend, or money to purchaſe the favour of the meaneſt able to bring him into an outward room, when the King, the Fountain of Honour came down, and was uninterrupted by other Buſineſs; in which Caſe it was then uſual for him to grant a Commiſſion for the Chamberlain, or ſome other Lord to do it: But Experience ſoon informed the Empty *Scot,* That as this Airy Treaſure was inexhauſtible, ſo it might be turned to great Profit, ſeeing the Shoals of baſe and ignorant Trouts that gaped after it (the Cauſe, Acceſs to the King was made daily more difficult:) By this rendring the Temple of Honour a common Theatre, into which the baſeſt were ſuffered to enter for their Money.

35. Now this Shower of Dignities falling upon all, without any more ſerious Conſideration than Favour or Profit, whole Houſes were ruined: For ancient Gentlemen, finding themſelves preceded by baſer Families; only for having the Impudence or Luck to be dubb'd before them: And being deſpiſed, or ſpurred on through their Wives Ambition, or their own Shame, fell into the Trap gilded with the Title of Baronet, for which they were to pay a Thouſand Pounds, as is expreſſed in their Patent: No ſlight Caveat for the Vanity of it: And how ſhort-lived that Honour muſt needs be that was built upon no ſtronger Baſis than the mercenary Conſideration of ſuch a Summ; Riches for the moſt part being the lot of Covetous and dejected Spirits. Beſides, Augmentation of Titles puts a higher Impoſition upon all Expences; ſince he that before, being conſidered but as a Gentleman, could compoſe his Charge within ſuch a preciſe rate, now double did not ſerve the turn: Men in honour, contrary to the Elements of Frugality, being not ſeldom compelled to proportion their layings out to their Dignities, not their Pot to their Ability: For Wives, Daughters, Sons and Servants, cannot all, if any do, regulate their Minds to the Eſtate, but fix their Eyes upon the glittering Splendor of this new Star of Honour, and do by that ſteer their expence, till of a ſudden they fall into ſo deep an Ocean of debt, as they are never able to preſerve their ancient Lands, but are forced to ſell, die in a Priſon, or play at Bo-peep all the remainder of their days with their Creditors in *London*.

36. Baronies, Earldoms, *&c.* Were ſold to the Engliſh that had wherewithal to buy them in any of the three Nations; But the *Scots*, the principal Actors in this Comedy of Pride, were allowed a free entrance into the Houſes of Dignity at their pleaſure. And here may be obſerved upon what baſe and unequal Terms the Engliſh were dealt withal, that had no place in the Parliament of *Scotland*, though made Barons there, yet

ſuch

ſuch of that Nation as owned the like Titles here; were not only called by *Writ* to the *Houſe of Lords*, but ſate in the *Star Chamber*: A Court I do not remember to have ſeen any *Scots* appear in as Criminals, many as Judges.

37. The palpable partiality that deſcended from the *Father* to the *Scots*, did Eſtate the whole Love of the *Engliſh* upon his *Son Henry*: Whom they engaged by ſo much *expectation*, as it may be doubted, whether it ever lay in the Power of any Prince *meerly humane*, to bring ſo much Felicity into a Nation, as they did all his Life propoſe to themſelves at the Death of King *James*. For my own particular, though I may Concur ſo far with the general Voice of the whole *Kingdom*, as to allow him the higheſt *Epithets* belonging to an Active, Generous and Noble Cavalier, yet I want not cauſe in *experience*, by ſuſpending my future Judgment, to avoid their common miſtake, who think all ſuch Vertues loſt in the untried dead, as are found abſent in him that had the luck to ſucceed: It being the uſual condition of theſe high Planets, to conceal all Malignity in their temper, till by the Sun's ſetting they become ſupream themſelves, and have the reins in their own hands: For before they can never think they are ſecure, nor after apprehend a poſſibility of loſing their power. The cauſe many Princes let their Paſſions looſe towards all exceſs and impieties, when their Country hath moſt uſe of their temperance and moderation. I ſay not this out of any propenſity to their Opinions who are apt to Prognoſticate a future ill, out of the preſent ſhew of Goodneſs in men ſo highly bred, or to rob him of the happineſs to be allowed virtuous, which deſcends to all from Charity till the contrary appears; But to juſtifie the truth of Story, where you may find as few abominable Princes as tolerable Kings.

The reaſon may be, an advantage they have to ſee what is diſguſted in their Father, which is avoided for the preſent, more out of popularity than diſlike: For

though *Absalom*, to attain his ends, might appear a better Justicier than *David*, it is great odds but upon success he had proved as Tyrannical as *Solomon* or *Rehoboam*. Besides the terrible condition a Prince for the most part lives in, since ordinarily a Father punisheth that in his Son with a gentle reproof, which Kings are often known to do by a mortal poyson. The truth is, Prince *Henry* never arrived at the great Test, Supremacy in Power, that leaves the will wholly to its own guidance; being not only set out of the reach of Reproof, but hears his actions approved by some, though in their true nature they appear never so ugly.

38. The Government of his House was with much Discretion, Modesty, Sobriety, and (which was looked upon as too great an upbraiding the contrary proceedings of his Fathers) in an high reverence to piety, not swearing himself, or keeping any that did: Through which he came to be advanced beyond an ordinary measure in the affections of the City; to whom he was not only plausible in his Carriage, but Just in payments, so far as his Credit out-reached the King's both in the Exchange and the Church. In which the Son could not take so much Felicity, as the Father did Discontent, to find all the Worth he imagined in himself, wholly lost in the hopes the People had of this young Gentleman. From whence Kings may be concluded far more unhappy than ordinary Men; for though, whilst Children are young they may afford them safety, yet when arrived at that Age which useth to bring Comfort to other Parents, they produce only Jealousies and Fears: For if Deformed, Fooliſh, or Vicious, they offend the natural Disposition of a Father, who cannot but desire his Issue perfect; if they prove otherwise, and be excellent, that of a Prince; because his Reign must needs be thought dim and tedious who hath such a Spark to succeed him as this *Henry*, which in all mens Judgment appeared more Illustrious than his old Father. Thus are Kings found as remote from Felicity with Children,

as

as from Safety without: and as the laſt of theſe Conſiderations have tempted ſome to acknowledge the Iſſue of Strangers and ſuch as their Wives have come to by chance, ſo the firſt hath provoked as many to make away their own.

And, if common Fate did not out-ſtrip truth, King *James* was by fear led into this extreme: finding his Son *Henry* not only averſe to any Popiſh match, but ſaluted by the Puritans as one prefigured in the Apocalypſe for *Rome*'s deſtruction And to parallel this, one *Ball* a *Taylor* was inſpired with a like Lunacy, though ſomething more chargeable; for not only he, but *Ramſey* his Majeſty's Watch-maker, put out Money and Clocks, to be paid (but with ſmall advantage, conſidering the improbability) when King *James* ſhould be Crowned in the Pope's Chair. Nor did *Henry* carry his Body ſo ſwimming, as the known depth of his Fathers Jealouſies and ſhallowneſs of his Fears did require, contemning ſo far at firſt his election of *Somerſet*, as he was reported either to have ſtrook him on the Back with his Racket, or very hardly forbore it. But who can expect a Prince ſhould prove any thing, conſidering his Education, much leis a Politician? The laſt Earl of *Eſſex* being his Play-fellow, and few Gentlemen of worth, his Council, though many his attendants: It being in no caſe ſafe to adviſe a Prince during the life of his Father, nothing remaining in prudence poſſible to be ſaid in relation to his ſafety, but muſt reflect upon the honour of the King, or the prudence of himſelf: The ſmalleſt intimation in that kind falling (if revealed, and what can youth and folly conceal?) within the compaſs of Treaſon. It is ſo common with report to rate the ſickneſs or death of Princes at the price of Poyſon; as I ſhould quite have omitted this conjecture, or left it wholly to the deciſion of Poſterity; though I believe few Kings are by their Servants whoſe eyes are more fixed upon Hope, which relates to the future, than Gratitude, by the gene-

generality of Courtiers declined, as not reſpecting the preſent time) ſo fairly dealt withal at that Article, in which meaner men receive Indulgence from Enemies; had I not heard by many, his Father did dread him, and in particular from Mr. *Primroſe*, the Prince's Foſter-brother of high eſteem with him; and that the King, thought he would not deny any thing he plainly deſired, yet it appeared rather the reſult of fear and outward compliance, than love or natural affection; being harder drawn to confer an Honour or Pardon, in caſes of deſert, upon a Retainer to the Prince, than a Stranger: From whence it might be calculated a Malignity conceived in his heart againſt the Splendour of his Son's Retinue; manifeſted after his death by an injunction to *Charles* Duke of *York*, and a Command he gave to the Lord Chamberlain of the Kings Houſe, not to ſuffer any to be enrolled his Son's ſervants, without his knowledge. And though this may warrant the Reaſonableneſs of their Judgments who did look upon *Henry* rather as a terrour, than a comfort to the King, yet he did not take any viſible notice of the great concourſe about him, till by *Archy* his Jeſter he was called to the obſervation of it on the Plains about *New-Market*, when he and the Prince parted; few being left with the Father, and thoſe mean Perſons, which drew Tears from him; but the paſſion did not laſt long, nor he when he had recollected himſelf, forbear (which might have encreaſed the Suſpicion of the conſequence) to reprove the Fellow, who, *being more Scot than Fool*, was able to mind one that filled a wiſer room, that it is the *Religion of ſome Nations, but the Cuſtom of all, to Adore the riſing Sun, and contemn him at his going down.* I confeſs I did my ſelf queſtion *Archy* long after about it, but he talked though in the Affirmative, ſo loud and wildly that I was afraid to waken the attentions of the Standers by. This I have heard by divers, that he was after every night they could meet him, toſſed like a Dog in a Blanket. The Prince died at St. *James's* having

having in all his Sickneſs, no Pain but in his Head, being Heart-whole to the laſt. Sr. *Theodore Meyern* a *French* Phyſician and in great eſteem would have had him let Blood, but the Engliſh did reject the Council as too deſperate, in reſpect of themſelves, who might poſſibly offend no leſs by his recovery, than Death; *Ordinarily imputed to thoſe Phyſicians that meet with Patients who do not recover after the opening a Vein.* I remember Sr. *Walter Raleigh* before his going to *Guiana* (to whom Prince *Henry* was a great Friend, and for whoſe ſatisfaction he penned his Hiſtory, *&c.*) owned, though not in full words at length, as much in ſubſtance as was then every where reported. But when I reach the misfortunes of *Robert Carre*, (if they may be called ſo, that at the worſt exceeded the beſt his Birth could promiſe) I may have occaſion to ſay more.

39. In the mean time the reaſon King *James* was ſo poorly followed, eſpecially in his Journies, was his partiality uſed towards the *Scots*, which hung like Horſe-leeches on him, till they could get no more, falling then off by retiring into their own Country, or living at eaſe, leaving all chargable attendance to the *Engliſh*. The Harveſt of the Love and Honour he reaped being ſutable to the ill Husbandry he uſed in the unadviſed diſtribution of his favours: For of a Number of empty Veſſels he filled to compleat the meaſure of our Infelicity, few proved of uſe to him, unleſs ſuch as by reaſon of their vaſt runnings out had daily need of a new ſupply: And amonſt theſe the *Earl of Carliſle* was one of the *Quorum*, that brought in the Vanity of *Ante-Suppers*, not heard of in our Fore Fathers time, and for ought I have Read, or at leaſt remember, unpractiſed by the moſt Luxurious Tyrants. The manner of which was, to have a Board covered at the firſt entrance of the Gueſts with Diſhes, as high as a tall Man could well reach, filled with the Choiceſt and Deareſt viand Sea and Land could afford: And all this once ſeen and having Feaſted the Eyes of the Invited, was in a manner

manner thrown away, and freſh ſet on the ſame height having only this advantage of the other, that it was hot. I cannot forget one of the Attendants of the K. that at a Feaſt, made by this Monſter in exceſs, Eat to his ſingle ſhare a whole Pie reckoned to my Lord at ten Pounds, being compoſed of Amber-greece, Magiſterial of Pearl, Muſk, *&c.* yet was ſo far (as he told me) from being ſweet in the Morning, that he almoſt Poyſoned his whole Family, flying himſelf like the *Satyr* from his own Stink. And after ſuch Suppers huge Banquets no leſs profuſe, a Waiter returning his Servant Home with a Cloak-bag full of dried Sweat-meats and Confects, Valued to his Lordſhip, at more than ten Shillings the Pound. I am cloy'd with the repetition of this exceſs, no leſs than Scandaliz'd at the continuance of it. For when the moſt able Phyſicians and his own Weakneſs had paſſed a Judgment, he could not live many Days, he did not forbear his *entertainments*, but made divers brave clothes, as he ſaid, *to out-face Naked, and deſpicable Death withal: Blaſpheming God* ſo far in the Perſon of his *Hand-maid Nature*, as to ſay *ſhe wanted Wiſdom, Love, or Power, in making Man Mortal and Subject to Diſeaſes*; forgetting that if every individual his own Luſt had been able to have produced ſhould have Proſecuted an *equal exceſs* with his, they would in a far *leſs time* than an *Age*, have brought *themſelves* or the *World* in the *ſame Diſeaſe* he died of, which was a *Conſumption*. He lay always under the *Comfortable Aſpect* of King *James* his Favour tho' I never found him in his *Boſom*, a place *reſerved* for *Younger Men* and of more *endearing Countenances*: And *theſe* went under the *Appellations* of his *Favourites*, or *Minions*, who like *Burning-glaſſes* were daily *interpoſed between* him and the *Subject*, multiplying the Heat of *oppreſſions* in the *General Opinion*, though in his own he thought they *ſcreened* them from Reflecting upon the *Crown*: Through the *fallacy* of which *Maxim* his Son came to be Ruined, it being *unlikely* any Prince

ſhould

ſhould abate in the Account of his *People*, that hath no Bodies *Expences* or *Faults* to reckon for but his own. Now as no other Reaſon *appeared* in Favour of their Choice but *Handſomneſs*, ſo the *Love* the King ſhewed was as *Amorouſly* conveyed, as if he had miſtaken their Sex, and *thought* them *Ladies*. Which I have ſeen *Somerſet* and *Buckingham* Labour to *reſemble*, in the *effeminateneſs* of their *dreſſings*. Though w----- Looks and wanton Geſtures they *exceeded* any part of *Womankind* my *Converſation* did ever cope withal. Nor was his Love, or what elſe *Poſterity* will pleaſe to call it, (who muſt be the Judges of all that *Hiſtory* ſhall inform) *carried* on with *diſcretion ſufficient* to *cover* a *leſs Scandalous Behaviour*; for the *King*'s Kiſſing them after ſo *Laſcivious* a Mode in *Publick* and upon the *Theatre* as it were of the World, Prompted many to imagine ſome things done in the Tyring-houſe, that exceed my expreſſions no leſs than they do my experience: And therefore left floating upon the Waves of Conjecture, which hath in my hearing toſſed them from one ſide to another.

40. I have heard that Sir *Henry Rich*, ſince E. of *Holland*, and ſome others refuſed his Majeſty's Favour upon thoſe conditions Subſcribed to, which filled that Place in his Affection: *Rich* loſing that opportunity his curious Face and Complection afforded him, by turning aſide and Spitting after the King had Slabbered his Mouth: Who though numbred amongſt the Gods upon Earth, yet any that will be ſo Inquiſitive as to rake in his Duſt, may find as many frailties as ever Man ſtood charged with, of which was none of the higheſt, doubling the weight of his Oppreſſion: For the ſetting up of theſe Golden Calves coſt *England* more than Queen *Elizabeth* ſpent in all her Wars.

41. Amongſt a number of other Novelties he brought a new Holy-day into the Church of *England*, wherein God had Publick Thanks given him for his Majeſties deliverance out of the Hands of E. *Goury*: And this

this fell out upon *Aug.* 5. upon which many Lies were told, either at Home or Abroad in the Quire of St. *Paul*'s Church, or the long Walk: For no *Scotch*-man you could meet Beyond Sea but did Laugh at it, and the Peripatetick Politicians ſaid the Relation in Print did Murder all poſſibility of Credit. But I will not *wade farther in this Buſineſs*, not knowing how Dangerous the bottom may prove, being by all Mens Relations Foul and Bloody; having nothing to palliate it but Jealouſie on the one ſide, and Fear on the other; *too weak ſupporters* to keep upright ſo great a——eſpecially ſo far as to Ruine a whole and noble Family for a fault known to be committed without the leaſt Queſtion. Now if any thing further deſerves conſideration, it is the misfortune of Kings, who once lapſed into a publick Errour, cannot recal it, tho' the continuance of it Reflect Diſhonour to God; not unpoſſibly the cauſe this held out all his Reign. Nor did any Credit his Son gave it, juſtifie it further than ordinary Report, which in the generality took it for a meer Figment of State, and was Buried with its Author.

42. Nor will the Story of the Lord Treaſurer *Buckhurſt* fall in unproperly here, who being a very corrupt Man, or much abuſed, did lay claim to ſome part of the *Kentiſh Lucies* Land, that lay contiguous to his own, and miſtruſting the Integrity of any other or more Legal Tryal, did by the highneſs of his Hand bring it to the *Council Table* (where about this time many Cauſes were ſhamefully carried, and from whence *the moſt excellent Chancellor for parts*, that ever ſate in that Court, might derive the moſt Capital of his Faults) and after ſome debate, the Treaſurer ſtanding up and offering to pull out of his Boſom Papers that were pretendeed for their Lordſhips full and final ſatisfaction, he fell down Dead, as called to anſwer at a higher Tribunal. Neither hath any ſince, as I have been told by ſome of the Family, ever queſtioned *Lu-*

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cies Land, in the quiet poſſeſſion of which he was thus miraculouſly Eſtated. Some years after meeting with the Secretrary of *Richard* Earl of *Dorſet* (a Noble Gentleman and of good parts had they not been Poiſoned, together with the Owner, by a future Malice and Jealouſie in the Duke of *Buckingham* that he was his Enemy) he told me the Treaſurer was Subject to Swooning, which happening in a place where there was ſo little help, it became his Death. He was much given to Women and Corruption, in the general Opinion; after whom theſe Verſes were ſent, it being the Faſhion of the Poets all my Days, to Sum up Great Mens Vertues or Vices upon their Graves. Theſe with many more to a like Senſe belonging to this Man.

Diſcourteous Death *that would'ſt not once confer,*
Or deign to parly with our Treaſurer:
Had he been Thee, or if thy fatal Tribe,
He would have ſpar'd a Life to gain a Bribe.

Another.

Here lies a Lord that Wenching *thought no Sin,*
And bought his Fleſh by ſelling of our Skin:
His Name was Sackvile, *and ſo void of Pity,*
As he did Rob the Country with the City.

43. The *Match* King *James* made between *Elizabeth* his Eldeſt Daughter and the Elector of *Rhyne*, contrary to the Grain of the Catholick Church, and the deſires of her Mother, who looked upon it ſo much below her, as ſhe could not refrain to call her Good Wife *Palſgrave* before ſhe had put off her Wedding Shooes; Bred at a diſtance, ſuch a hope in the *Huguenots* that remained yet under Perſecution or Reſtraint, and Pride in thoſe already Emancipated through their Governor's liquoriſhneſs after the choice Morſels of the Church, and their own deſire to change their manner of Service, (grow foul in their Opinions, an unavoidable reſult of time: Eſpecially if prompted by more Learning than Diſcretion) that they Feaſted their Imaginations

tions with all the Miraculous Felicities and the deliverance, by the Divers into the deep Myſteries of *Daniel* and the *Revelations* ſuppoſed to be reſerved in the bottom of all things: *The Fall of the Pope* and thoſe Principalities, adhering to him, appearing as manifeſtly painted in their Oily Fancies, as the Curious may find them in *H. Broughton*, or the Frontiſpieces of divers Books, the Zeal of ſome, and licentiouſneſs of others did then make Publick: Which ſtrook a damp in the *German Cæſars* affairs, cauſing the Exchange to go high in the Diets, ſo as upon the demands of Contribution, though againſt the *Turk*, a greater Liberty of Conſcience was propounded by the followers of *Luther* and *Calvin*, and ſome ſuſpicion of change feared from thoſe not yet revolted. But however this might work to the diſadvantage of our King's Judgment abroad (who was thought to do it to render himſelf the Umpire of all Chriſtian differences, which he much delighted in, no leſs than a Confidence he had to bring all to one Conformity, a project not to be cut off but with the head of, *&c.*) it ſetled it much in the Opinion of his Subjects, who in the Houſe of Commons did upon all occaſions teſtifie their Compliance to this Conjunction. Now whether it was hope or fear according to the Opinion of the Catholicks and Politicians, or a ſupine Careleſsneſs, and deſire to be rid of her with the leaſt expence, as all the Ladies Friends ſuggeſted, or pure Zeal to Religion, as ſome Simple People thought, or what was moſt probable, a compoſition of all the three firſt mentioned Paſſions, induced the King to ſubmit to ſuch mean Conditions I leave to the Reader to Judge: And only obſerve that, though in relation to Perſon and Vertue, ſhe might deſervedly hold a Room in the greateſt Prince's Bed in *Europe*; yet God hath not hitherto been pleaſed to afford her any outward Bleſſing, but a Multitude of Children, of which the Eldeſt was unfortunately drowned, not without ſome reproach to the Father,

and

and Diminution of the reſt, in the opinion of the People, that do, though not Seldom without cauſe, over-value any thing irrecoverably loſt; and now at laſt hath caſt her into an Ocean of Calamities, in which ſhe ſtill remains a floating Example to other Princes of the Inſtability of Fortune, as ſhe did in her proſperity for Civility and Goodneſs. And though none need ſeek far for reaſons why Judgments ſhould fall upon the Children of Princes, yet her behaviour hath been throughout blameleſs, as amongſt the worſt Reports the Papiſts could raiſe, nothing appears might prove her ſo great an Actor in ill, as ſhe is found a Patient in Miſery: Which makes me in Charity think it rather came by deſcent than purchaſe; unleſs God hath done it that is his Power may hereafter be ſhewn in raiſing her to a higher Dignity than ſhe hath already fallen from. And for her Husband he lies under the condition of other Men, who have their apparent misfortunes imputed to hidden and inward defects.

44. It was the Opinion of thoſe Times, that the Elector might have ſped better, had he not matched with *England*, whoſe King was ſo Timerous, as he ſuffered all to Periſh, for want of a ſeaſonable ſupply that relied upon his Power: For had his Conſort been of a Weaker Alliance, he had refuſed the Crown of *Bohemia* when it was offered, or upon acceptance been more cordially aſſiſted by his Fellow Princes, already wearied with the Emperor's Oppreſſions, no leſs than terrified by an expectation of worſe: It being Repugnant to the Mode of a *Spaniſh* Pride, to reſt within the compaſs of any other Moderation than what is preſcribed to him by the Pillars of force, and whereon he finds the Inſcription of apparent Neceſſity, or the Apparition of a future Benefit. But Aſſiſtance compoſed of ſo many pieces is ſeldom Succeſsful, and often Dangerous to ſuch as relie upon them: Of which *Charles* the Fifth left a precedent at their own Doors, in the Perſon of the Duke of *Saxony*, and the *Landſ-*

grave van Heſſe, who by interfering in their Councils tripped up the Heels of themſelves and a greater Army than *Mauritius*, Son-in Law to the *Landſgrave*, Commanded alone, when he made the ſame Victorious Emperor, who had together with that Title incluſive in his Perſon the Kingdom of *Spain*, Crawl over the Alps by Torch-light, and after hide his Head in a Monaſtery. Yet beſides their own neglect, and the great Confidence they had in King *James* (whom they looked upon as engaged by Honour and Nature in the *German* Quarrels, at leaſt ſo far as the value of the Crown of *Bohemia* extended) they were to ſeek of a ſuſpicion, that in caſe the Elector ſhould attain the Imperial Diadem (not poſſibly to have been denied him upon Succeſs) that with his own force, and the aſſiſtance of *Britany*, he might not only have impoſed upon the *Lutherans* Conſciences (ſomewhat of a contrary Creed to his) but have left them no Senſe of eaſe in the change. Nor was the Lady *Elizabeth* yet ſo far removed from a poſſibility of attaining one day the Crown of *England*, her Brother being not only ſingle, but lying in the Opinions of many under an averſion to Marriage, as might inſure ſuſpicion, which can never apprehend Power at diſtance enough, from thoſe they think may imploy it to the Prejudice of their Liberty who have formerly lain under the Weight of Bondage. Some Paraſities cried it up to the height of a Prophetical Wiſdom in King *James*, that he would not ſuffer his Son to be Prayed for in our Churches by the Title of King of *Bohemia*; but clearer Judgments ſaw it no hard matter to determine of his Fortune, whoſe good or bad Succeſs lay wholly in his Hands.

45. I have had the moſt, if not all may be found here, out of Letters, which I ever looked upon as the beſt and pureſt intelligence; in one of which I had this inſerted; that Prince *Henry* gave the firſt encouragement to the Prince Elector to attempt his Siſter; deſiring more, to Head an Army in *Germany*, than he durſt

durſt make ſhew of, and would no doubt, have been bravely followed. That his thoughts flew high, hundreds of his Servants are yet in being to Witneſs, together with the Love he ſeemed to bear his Siſter, before his Brother, whom he would often taunt till he made him weep, telling him *he ſhould be a Biſhop*, a Gown being the fitteſt to hide his Legs, Subject in his Childhood to be crooked. Nor did all this put together lengthen his Life in the deſires of many. Beſides I have been told that Sir *Walter Raleigh* did mediate his Favour by a Diſcourſe he ſent him, proving *no War could be ſo neceſſary or advantagious for* England, *as one with* Spain; alledging for it many Reaſons and Examples, as well out of the practice of the late Queen, as his own Expeience: No Prince elſe being able to pay for, or bear the expence of a Royal Navy, which once in a Year he would without Queſtion accompliſh by our intercepting ſome, or moſt part of the Plate Fleet, all Nations beſides being but *Sea Pedlers*. Wherefore if *Philip* the Second cut off his own hopeful and only Son *Charles*, for but pitying the People of *Flanders*; it can be no wonder he ſhould promote the Deſtruction of a Stranger that did ſo far applaud the advice of *Raleigh*, as to ſay, *No King but his Father would keep ſuch a Bird in a Cage*. But to leave this to the Faith of Poſterity that ſhall have not only the opportunity to ſee, but the Liberty to Judge of the moſt probability in every Relation; the Actions of Kings being Written in Dark Characters, and relating to ſo many ſeveral ends, as they are not eaſily deciphered; I ſhall return the *German* affairs, towards which had *England* contributed proportionably to the Head of an Union, it may be preſumed from the King of *Sweeden*'s Succeſs, who had at the beginning no ſuch advantages to rely on, that the eclipſing, if not the Ruin of the Houſe of *Auſtria* had not been adjourned to ſo long a Day. And he that ſhall turn over the Adviſo's of thoſe times, may without any Danger, or much trou-

ble find what Opinion the *Germans* had of us, and in how great a diſaray it caſt their proceedings, when the ſmallneſs of the Lord *Vere*'s Forces were known; but when they read a Commiſſion only inabling him to do nothing, they Apprehended themſelves, ſome out of *Malice betrayed*, others that knew the Temper of King *James* better, were ſo Charitable as to impute it to the true Cauſe, which was his Fear, upon whoſe Altar he was not only ready to Sacrifice his preſent Honour and future Safety, but the Blood of thoſe he Stiles, in all his *Manifeſto's*, *his Deareſt Children.*

46. For after his Daughter, and the Elector were Crowned King and Queen of *Bohemia*, they loſt together with this Shadow all her Subſtance, and what he was for ſo many deſcents Born to, the Palatinate at the Battle of *Prague:* Where few Blows were dealt on the Elector's ſide, reported to be ſo mad as to think the Souldier would venture his Life in a Cauſe where he whom it moſt concerned was afraid to hazard his Money: It being then too late to ſpare, when Honour and Fortune lye at the Stake. By which this Miſerable Prince did not only loſe what he might have poſſibly gain'd, but moſt of the Wealth he deſired to ſave: No Paſſions being obſerved ſo incompatible with Succeſs, as when Ambition, like that of *Galba*'s, is found in a covetous Nature; by which the Souldier is not ſeldom tempted out of Diſdain to quit his own Poſt, and adhere to a Party he never did, till the Diſcovery of this baſe Humour, affect ſo well as that he deſerts. Nor is it likely any ſhould proſper (eſpecially in a *Field Expedition*) againſt the Houſe of *Auſtria*, that is not as Prodigal of Gold as Blood: It having been the late practice of this wiſe Nation to obtain Victory through the Mediation of Money and Policy, rather than Strength; leaving nothing to Fortune but what ſhe muſt needs: Which may ſupport the validity of their Opinions that think the Spaniard leaſt impregnable at Sea, where he hath neither time nor opportunity to corrupt, *&c.*

47. Sir

47. Sr. *Richard Weſton*, ſince Treaſurer and Earl of *Portland*, was, when they looked for an Army, ſent to mediate a Peace: By whoſe help, according to report, the Electour and his Lady found means, though with much difficulty, to eſcape to the *Hague* with their new aſſumed empty Titles, having nothing elſe to ſupport them but Patience and Hope, the only and ordinary comfort of thoſe deprived of all help beſides. Yet I have heard from many (for I delight to ſet down every probable relation) that they thought *Weſton* too far engaged to the Catholicks to be Author of ſo ungrateful a ſervice. But this being his firſt Employment, no leſs than a deſire in the Pope to ſee the power of the Emperour moderated, who began to encroach upon the pretended Immunities of the Church, he might not improbably take this advantage to render his Embaſſie the more acceptable upon his return to the People of *England*, if not to the King: Perſons of their Quality falling ſeldom under the Sword, and therefore thought perhaps better thrift to maintain them at liberty than in reſtraint, or redeem them at ſuch a ranſome as a Victorious Prince might impoſe, to the payment of which his Maſter was engaged in Honour and Nature.

48. However I am more charitable than to conclude all Papiſts employed by this King ſo diſhoneſt as to falſifie their truſt: For if that followed as a neceſſary conſequence, God help this poor Nation, that had before then, and long after, few commiſſioned in any affair of Importance, but ſuch as were that way affected, or wholly indifferent. It being the intent of Providence to uſe his help, it may be, as he did that of *Pharoah*'s Daughter, to preſerve this vertuous Lady out of danger, whoſe Misfortunes have kindled ſuch a fire in *Germany*, as not impoſſibly, before it be extinguiſhed, may lick up the choiceſt blood in the *Auſtrian* Family; of which this ſeems to me as a ſign, that ever ſince they began ſome one or other hath proſecuted the like at-

tempt: Amongſt whom was Count *Mansfield*, that had little elſe but his own fortune and valour to carry him ſo far as he went; but what he punctually did, or promiſed to do, was at too great a diſtance for me to perceive, more than I could learn from the Eccho it made at Court, which ſounded diverſly, according to the inclinations and hollowneſs of their hearts that made the reverberation. This I can atteſt upon knowledge, that *Mansfield* was in appearance well received here: but whether King *James* could like a man that laboured to bring in ſo Anti-monarchical a Precedent, as to ſtruggle for liberty with his Native Prince, I cannot but queſtion; who did daily inculcate into the people, through the mediation of his Divines, and by the terrour of the Law, that no other refuge was left in any ſaving experiment during the unjuſteſt and moſt cruel Tyranny, but Prayers and Tears; a Tenet if he had believed himſelf, or thought ſuch as owned either prudence or power did, he would doubtleſs have governed much better, or abuſed the Nation, and debauched his ſucceſſion much worſe: Yet to give a countenance to a buſineſs he had ſo ſhamefully diſparaged before, he ſent for the Count over in one of his Ships Royal, which was caſt away upon the Engliſh Coaſt; an example as remote from a Precedent, as for a mighty Prince to be a quiet Spectatour of the ruin of his Family.

Such as were of the Spaniſh Faction ſpake moſt diſgracefully of Count *Mansfield*: Forgetting the lower footing they aſſigned for his riſe, the more admirable they proclaimed his dexterity in mounting himſelf ſo high; who at his going from hence was furniſhed with men and money, the moſt of them loſt before their Landing: Such proceedings being much in uſe with King *James*, who, like a ready Horſe, did often ſeem to the World as if he meant to run, yet did little more in effect than ſtand ſtill. But here my Pen is ſtopped through indiſpoſition; wherefore I muſt conclude this under the notion at leaſt of a Firſt Part.

A

MISCELLANY

Of Sundry

Eſſays, Paradoxes,

AND

Problematical Diſcourſes,

Letters, and Characters;

Together with

Political Deductions from the Hiſtory of the Earl of *Eſſex*, Executed under Queen *Elizabeth*.

To my Vertuous,

No leſs than in all things elſe

Deſerving NIECE,

Mrs. *ELIZABETH DRAPER.*

Dear Niece,

IT is on all hands confeſt, that ſome things here may be thought as unſuitable to my Tears as your Education, (not yet removed from a vertuous Mother,) by thoſe are not acquainted with the external Impulſe which makes their Publication to the World unadvoidably Neceſſary, in reference to the preventing a falſe Impreſſion; no leſs than that more Inward of natural affection to you (not knowing but this may be my laſt opportunity) to do right to Gratitude. So as if any expreſſion here ſhould be of force to make you bluſh, it would by augmenting you Beauty prove a Good Effect of a Cauſe at the worſt but reſpectively evil; and only in reference to ſuch a ſuperlative Goodneſs as you are endowed withall; whoſe Apprehenſion of Ill reſults rather from Admonition and Prudence, than Experience or Conſent. Faults already become in many ripe for Puniſhment, being not yet Arrived within the Circle of your thoughts. Wherefore (ſince the worſt can be found in theſe Papers, if candidly taken, does not come

ſhort

ſhort of ſome of the beſt are daily made vendible,) I deſire you to vail your Judgment with Charity, known in remoter Relations ſo extenſive as to cover more Levity thay I hope is extant here: Or if bleered by Intereſt, I ſhould miſtake no leſs in its own deſert, than the acceptance of the World, it cannot diſparage your Name long; which no doubt will ſuddenly be changed, and you left free, either to own or reject what is here preſented; unleſs God for the puniſhment of the preſent Age will make men unwilling, becauſe unworthy, to approach ſo much Vertue, and other Excellencies, as are natural in you; the repetition of which would not only call up the blood into your face, but confound mine, were I guilty of half of the infidelity in your Sex, that ignorance, folly, and malice, hath voted to my ſhare: who am ſo zealous through the mediation of your perfections in the vindication of Women, that I am not only ready to become a Convert, but a Martyr, rather than appear any thing but, Dear Niece,

Your Servant

FR. OSBORN.

A general Account of what is contained in the Book enſuing.

THe Preface.

An Eſſay on ſuch as condemn all they underſtand not a reaſon for.

An Eſſay upon Prov. 8. 30. Give me neither Poverty nor Riches.

A Contemplation of Adam's *Fall.*

Sundry Conjectural Paradoxes concerning Reaſon, Learning, &c.

A Character of Honour,
Valour and Cowardice.

A Letter to diſſuade Mr.——from a Duel.

A Letter to Mr.——in hope to diſſuade him from going a Colonel under Count Mansfield.

A Letter to Mr. W. P. *concerning Dependences upon great men.*

——Another to the ſame perſon.

A Copy of Verſes to——who had tranſlated Virgil *into Engliſh.*

A Letter perſuading——to marry.

Verſes upon ſundry occaſions.

A Letter to two Siſters, the one black, the other fair, with Verſes.

A Letter to——after the death of his Lady.

An Epitaph on——

The Authour's own Epitaph.

A Letter to diſſuade——from marrying a rich, but ugly and deformed——

With Verſes to the ſame effect.

A Letter in reference to a coy Lady.
The Petition.
A Character of a debauched Soldier.
A Letter to Dr. C. H. *Chap. to* W. E. *of* Pem.
With Verſes.
On a Cook.
A Character of an Hoſt.
With Verſes.
Deductions from the Hiſtory of the Earl of Eſſex.
Eſſay on Court-factions.
Eſſay, that the condition of men in power is to be guided by their ſervants.

THE

THE AUTHOR TO THE READER.

READers in the generality do not ſtudy (eſpecially in reference to *Contemporaries*) what may Benefit themſelves, but Blemiſh the preſent Author's repute. So as the Pillars of Fame and Protection, that led our Fathers through the Dark Wilderneſs of Ignorance, into the Glorious Land of the Living, (where they ſtill Inhabit, though under no more Authentick Character than that of Preſcription, being in all other Evidences of worth matched, if not exceeded by Younger Men,) are clouded through reproaches, and forced to correſpond for the Integrity of every Line by Truth's moſt capital Enemies, Hypocriſie, Superſtition, and Folly: And before ſuch partial and weak Tribunals as are ſuborned no leſs than guided by Intereſt, and an awfull reverence towards the moſt deformed Antiquity; from whence the Pen (accounted by *Cæſar* a decent Companion for the *Sceptre*) is now become the Bubble of the Rabble: Forgetting that though it may be ſo in the management of Fools, yet that no vertuous acts can be Regiſtred, or Learning maintained, but through her Mediation: Nor is the Progreſs of Conjectural propoſitions to be obſtructed, but rather indulged in reference to the Credit of a Nation. The

firſt

firſt *Idea* often owning the Glory of the whole deſign, manifeſt in *Germany*, that may not impoſſibly ſtand more obliged for her rare Inventions to the Liberty ſhe gives, and an Indulgenc the Inhabitants have for any Novelty; though too weak to extend probably beyond the Fantaſie of the firſt Projector; than any natural fertility inherent in the place, appears in the perfection they receive from more polite Regions; being themſelves ſo far from caſting Dirt or Ink in the Face of the Party, that in the caſe of likelihood they do afford aſſiſtance; contrary to the baſer practice of *England*, where if a Spirit be found ſo prevalent in Reaſon as to be proof againſt any Reply, it is uſual for the Oppoſers of Knowledge to impetrate their Revenge from ſome Weak *Adminiſtratour of the Power of Ignorance*.

Sir *Walter Raleigh* was the firſt (as I have heard) that ventured to tack about, and Sail aloof from the beaten track of the Schools; who, upon the diſcovery of ſo apparent an Error, as *a Torrid Zone*, intended to proceed in an inquiſition after more ſolid Truths, till the Mediation of ſome, whoſe Livelihood lay in hammering ſhrines for this Superannuated ſtudy, poſſeſſed Queen *Elizabeth*, that ſuch Doctrine was againſt God no leſs than her Father's Honour, whoſe Faith (if he owned any) was grounded upon School-Divinity: Whereupon ſhe Chid him, who was (by his own confeſſion) ever after Branded with the Title of an *Atheiſt*, though a known aſſerter of God and Providence.

A like cenſure fell to the ſhare of venerable *Bacon*, till over-balanced by a greater weight of Glory from Strangers: Nor could Deſert, and the name of the *Engliſh Jewel*, given *Selden* beyond Sea, free him from a like imputation at home. Wherefore *Br. Ca. Di. Ho. Ha. Hi. St. Ta.* and a number more that have embelliſhed this doting Age with new notions, may apprehend comfort from this contemplation, that Fame is no leſs Eternal than Detraction is Mortal. Though it may be thought ſtrange why any farther Proſecution of

Truth

Truth ſhould be perſecuted amongſt Men not yet fully reſolved what it is: When nothing redounded more to the *Proteſtants* Honour, than the free Paſſage they have always given to Books of Controverſies, whereas the Reading of them is a Mortal Sin in *Rome*, and at beſt, liable to the Inquiſition: Not to be imputed to any thing but the invincible Reaſon we have on our ſide, ſo well manag'd by Mr. *Chillingworth*, as the fluent Mouths of the *Jeſuits* were ſtopped till his Death, and ſome time after; there being nothing but Mathematicial Demonſtrations able to drive them from the Ambiguous Interpretations they put both upon Scripture and Fathers, behind which the *Papacy* hath for many Centuries played at *Bo-peep* with State and Church. And yet how this poor Man was abuſed at his Death, is more for the Nation's credit to conceal than Publiſh. Neither is this Frenzy capable of any real Reformation ſince thoſe that pretend to a Power of Garbling things brought to the Preſs, are not all of one and the ſame Judgment: And from whoſe diviſions new Books run the Fortune of the Middle-Aged Man in the Fable, that became Bald, by an endeavour to gratifie the Humours of Perſons inconſiderable for weight or number. I know cenſures do not fall all within the Circuit of one *Meridian*, yet am as certain, that no Diſpute can be maintained, but where half, if not the moſt curious part, is ſupported by Conjecture. And that our beſt Phyſical Concluſions have been deduced out of mere miſtakes, which the World (though never ſo long lived) is not likely to want, and therefore improbably Proclaimed at her fartheſt extent of Knowledge: Which if true, few would give, or increaſe theſtipend of Arts; it being incongruous to expect new Honour from thoſe who confeſs themſelves not able to Augment their own, and ſo far diffident of an ability to match the Antients, as they take the endeavour not only for impoſſible, but an high if not a damnable Preſumption: Wherefore it ſuits *Univerſity*-Intereſt to indulge ſuch as bring

bring fresh Notions to their Mill, though smutted with some Errors: It being usual for Wages to cease and an Engine to be neglected, upon the first discovery that the Work is finished: Not to be denied to follow an opposing what is already Arrived to a General acceptance; especially in an Age when God and the Magistrate lies Blasphemed on every Stall. Nor is the Knavery of obscure Stationers a small Remora to Desert; that in envy to those of their own Trade, and to Debauch the esteem of Books, do encourage, if not hire, Foul mouthed Ballad-makers to ruffle Dogs-ears, and contaminate, by base Language, and spurious censures, the choicest leaves. Yet the Blasphemers against the Spirit of Kowledge become vendible in reference to their names they pretend in their Title page to confute, somtime the Trade of *Al. Ro.* who used to Skirmish (thought not only Armed with a blunt Quill, but a duller Reason) the Worthies of our Nation by Troops. Nor is it probable any farther attempt upon our *English* Affairs should be purchased cheaper than the Writers prejudice, since so Honest an endeavour as the proving it was the Father that eat the sowre Grapes, and not the Son, whose Teeth were set on edge, is by some so far perverted. Now in reference to this or any thing else may relate to me, if my Years and Infirmities, that stand ready at the Gate to hurry me out of this World, nor the many lines I have drawn suitable to the general phantasies, with a Protestation never to Trespas again upon Love or History, cannot shrowd me from the pelting of Tongues; Let me Humbly implore this favour of both Sexes, that such as do it, would imitate the candour of a *Carnaval*, wherein (though all *Italy* appear but one entire Bedlam) nothing is thrown, but what favours more of Musk than Malice. But if I am born to be aspersed, I could wish it might be with such Ink as may at least beautifie the Writer, and not contaminate us both; it being an Injury, though far below the sufferer's Revenge, to be pinched between the nasty Finger and Thumb of a Brawny

Brawny Ignorance: Which hightens greatly the obligation to him that for my ſake undertook ſo unworthy an Antagoniſt, whoſe want of a true Knowledge of me hath led him into as great an exceſs in reference to my Commendations, as the like defect may not impoſſibly have expoſed me to a cenſure of ungratitude, or made me (as verily I believe I am) too ſparing in his, a fault I promiſe to amend upon the leaſt intimation of an occaſion.

Now being compelled to own what follows, or to venture the having it laid at my Door, with all the Imperfections ſo many Adulterated Tranſcriptions have Deformed it with, I thought it leſs Diſhonourable to treſpaſs upon Gravity, (a Defect in Nature, or at beſt but a Ceremony reſulting from the *Moroſity of Age*,) than to offer Violence to Prudence, (the moſt ſignal advantage deducible from Time,) by denying my Hand to the amendation of a ſurreptitious Copy, which I verily believe my Youth (though fooliſh enough) was not in probability likely to have been Guilty of, yet muſt have had my abilities now meaſured by it: For the ſufficiency of which I ſhall not Correſpond, having been led through neceſſity and others perſuaſions, rather than my own, to think that though they are out of Faſhion with me, they may become decent for others to follow or avoid. Being in every reſpect elſe a mere Patient, and no other ways active than at the Requeſt, and for ſatisfying the Stationer, to whoſe care I leave you, without any other Complement, than that *the loſs will not be great to the buyer, nor the ſhame much to me*, ſhould they prove Waſte Paper, as I ever till now eſteemed them. And in Anſwer to thoſe that ſhall think ſome expreſſions here too ſerious to face ſuch as ſtuff as comes after, they may be pleaſed to know I did at firſt intend to inſert ſome notions which diſcretion hath ſince thought inconvenient.

THE PREFACE.

The PROEM.

IF, contrary to the Mode of ſuch as loſe their Thoughts in the open Air where they were conceived, I have with more Diligence regiſtred Mine, it was out of no Opinion they deſerve a longer life, but to prevent Idleneſs, with a Concourſe of ſome more Tedious, if not Sinful, which in the Vacancy of Employment are apt to intrude themſelves under pretence of a more ancient and Familiar acquaintance: Nor can I yet find cauſe to repent of the pains, ſince it hath confirmed me in this Truth, that the World is not the worſe, nor my ſelf much better, for Age and Continuance. From whence I have learned, (though I confeſs, none more apt to forget) not to complain of Governours for their Oppreſſion, or upbraid Youth with its Vices, ſince in the beſt Times Tyranny hath been moderated, rather through Fear than Goodneſs, as the moſt ſeemingly Holy do at the higheſt but palliate, not diveſt their humane Infirmity. And from hence we may be taught with St. Peter, *not to call any thing Polluted or Defiled, all men at long-running meeting with the ſame Market, either in reference to their own depraved Will, or Performance: Wherefore I ſhould conclude, (conſidering my own and others viſible lapſes,) that Sanctity lies more in Repentance than Innocency; which is the chief advantage, if not all the difference diſcernible between thoſe we term Wicked, and the Juſt. Now if any one (a thing I have formerly been very chary of) ſhall read theſe Papers under the*

the notion of Approbation, he can no more make me proud, than ſuch as diſpraiſe them angry; (it being the guiſe of all to applaud thoſe of their own Opinion;) of which there is none more mine, than that every thing is of a mixed nature, carrying a Face like that in a pleated Picture, ſuitable to the ſituation and light the Beholder ſtands in, or is guided by.

And in reference to one over-ſevere, I may have this to ſay, that not a few now wiſer than us both, have pleaſed themſelves as much in drawing Anticks with a Coal upon a Wall, as others do in their endeavours to match Apelles. *All I ſeek is to find employment for a Spirit that would break the Veſſel, had it nothing to work upon but it ſelf: Nor is it leſs true, That I might juſtly be blamed for ſome things here, had more time been employed about them than God in his mercy, or to puniſh my former negligence, hath afforded me liberty to ſpare, who can be accountable to Poſterity for nothing in this kind, being from my Birth uncapable to receive the rich Talent of Learning, looked upon as the only Key of Knowledge; which if obtained had been little advantage, ſince I want a memory wherein to hoord up what I had ſtoln; and ſo the acquired Groat might not impoſſibly have ſpoiled and adulterated the more natural Shilling: Wherefore If a Chymiſtery might be found, able to extract any thing uſeful towards the conduct of Man out of ſuch ordinary Simples as theſe, they were highly to be eſteemed; and in likelihood more ſuitable to every Taſte, as freſh gathered from the Tree of Experience, than thoſe ſophiſticated by the Schools, or of a narrower Intereſt than that of the whole Society of Man.*

And if any draw benefit from theſe, they are moſt likely to be Friends; it being only the property of Love, to look upon that with delight, which cannot be diſcovered to another without ſhame. And to ſuch I could be content to leave them, as the Idea of a Mind was no leſs cordially employed in advancing the Good of others, than of my Patience in receiving injuries from the ſame hands. This is not ſaid to wound Providence under the ſhadow of Fortune, ſince I have hitherto not only been bleſt beyond my Deſert, but Expectation,

and have ſeen my unnatural Oppreſſours periſh and languiſh through as miraculous means as I have been preſerved, and by which I am brought to the contemplation of higher and more permanent Pleaſures, than the poor and deſpicable conſideration of Profit is able to reach. Nor could any contrary Endeavour of mine, hide this from the Eyes of the World, to whoſe Judgment I was for a long time not ſo impudent, or imprudent, as to preſent more of my Self than Imuſt needs; becauſe Experience ſtill finds her in the Amsof Curioſity and Prejudice, into whoſe Den, though I have been of late caſt, (by what hand of Fate I know not, and ſo as it were blindfold,) yet I have come off with more Favour, from before this Tyrannical Tribunal, than divers known of far greater Deſert.

Nor ſhould I, but for a through Eſſay of my own Fortune, and the Reader's Candor, venture ſuch Stuff as is likely to follow, which, though produced long ſince, I am not able to better now; and, if capable of Acceptance, the World is not likely to want it.

But it is contrary to my own Aphoriſm to debauch what I preſent, by ſaying it was writ before I was Twenty, from whence would reſult ſuch an eaſie inference, that ſurely I am no Wiſer now, (which I wiſh heartily I were able to confute,) elſe I ſhould mend, or conceal them: Nor can I think it Wiſdom or Convenience to ſay they were produced in a ſhorter ſpace than Nature requires in the production of Rarities, *though not ſeldom caſual; (as I obſerved in a Flint preſented to King* Charles, *that bore the perfect Figure of a Man,) it being the Cuſtom of ſome Heads to afford the greater Reaſon the leſs they are Pumped; ſuch as is cleareſt, running commonly quickeſt, and moſt fluent, whereas the Deeper requires ſtraining, and ſo becomes heavier, and of a leſs Sprightful taſte. I will not ſay mine is of that Temper, to avoid Prejudice; nothing being held in Eſteem is eaſily come by. Wherefore having found ſo many Condemned upon the Evidence they bring againſt themſelves in Print, I have Laboured to conceal my Name; eſteeming it more Pleaſant (if not more natural) to Beget, than Father:*

But

But finding it as impoſſible to hide, as it is unſuitable to my preſent condition to be Idle, and no leſs than unbecoming Civility to neglect the Importunity of ſuch Friends as deſire a Publication of this Piece, (which being a mixture of all things, may not improbably, like the huge Diſhes now in Faſhion, Feaſt the Appetites of ſome one or other) I ſhall once again venture into the Preſs (as too many do) more out of Confidence than Wit. Yet let my defects be what they will, I have ever conſidered it as a flatulent impertinency to court the Reader, or think to raiſe a Party in the behalf of any thing wears not the indubitable Character of Reaſon and Truth. Againſt which, Ignorance and Hypocriſie have maintained ſo long and unnatural a Rebellion, as Security is no other way attainable, but by Silence, or Compliance. The continual Wreſtlings againſt a Rational Evidence having brought the World into ſo mutilated and unſteady a Creed, as in many places, ſhe is obſerved to halt between the uneaſie ways of Hope and Fear. The Contemplation of which doth ſo Stagger ſuch as delight in Painting their own Opinions upon Paper, that they know not what ſide to take, out of a dread to fall under the notion of Traitors, Malignants, Atheiſts, *or* Fools. *And, amongſt others, this may paſs for a Cauſe, why theſe (formerly looked upon as Waſte (Sheets, have received this Reſurrection out of the Duſt, it being in ill Times ſafer to appear wanton than ſerious; or, like* Brutus, *a* Fool *than a* Cenſure. *Of what is in me I make as good uſe as I can, but hate to borrow any thing, being more willing to appear with all my defects about me, than glorious and ſplendid through the Spoils of others. Under the ſame odium (in my conceit) lies a ſupercilious gravity, by which I ſhould interrupt all Commerce with thoſe of my own Coat, and expoſe my ſelf to the Judgment of ſome more wiſe, who cannot but ſee through that unnatural Veil the poorneſs of the Traſh is carried under it; there being really no nakedneſs, but in relation to others, ſince all have the Patience to look upon their own imperfections without Bluſhing. Which the oftner it is done, the better may be Learned how to prize others, and value our ſelves; there appear-*

ing no way readier to demonſtrate to a Man his particular Weakneſs, than by admitting him full leave to try his Strength. Wherefore ſo long as no Body ſaw me, I was not capable of blame, if wanting the Engines of Learning, I endeavoured to ſhake the Pillars of the Schools: For though the attempt is not very likely to afford any Benefit to others yet I cannot but remain the ſtronger for it, and the more agile my ſelf, as ſuch do that ſwing, though the Beam ſtirs not at which they Tug, it being natural to honeſt Labour, ſtill to be followed by Wiſdom or Reward: For, though the generality of Readers are ſcandaliz'd at all is not mouldy through Age, or gilded with Novelty; yet I remember to have heard from Sir William Cornwallis, *(eſteemed none of the meaneſt Wits in his Time) that* Mountaign's *Eſſays was the likelieſt Book to advance Wiſdom, becauſe the Author's own Experiences, is the chiefeſt Arguments in it: For, as St.* Auſtin *ſaith of ſhort and holy Ejaculations, that they pierce Heaven as ſoon, if not quicker, than more tedious Prayers; ſo I have reaped greater Benefit from conciſe and caſual Meditations on ſeveral Topicks, than long and voluminous Treatiſes, relating merely to one and the ſame thing; many Scholars being of ſo vaſt an extenſion in the Proſecution of any (thought but a ſeeming) Error, as they will leave no Argument unurged, be it never ſo weak; forgetting that a Triumph is eaſier obtained, than a Victory ſo diſcreetly moderated, as may give no occaſion to think it either tedious, or overſevere, it being a Work impertinently ſuperfluous, to give two blows where one may ſuffice: This is the cauſe that only ſuch are eſteemed that bring the ſtrongeſt Reaſons, and commit the ſmalleſt waſte upon the Reader's time, or the* Adverſary's *repute: Nor are any to be commended as Civil or Wiſe, that proſecute a contrary Practice, too frequent amongſt us, where the abuſe of the Perſon is clinched and riveted ſo cloſe with the confutation, as unqueſtioned Charity is not ſeldom loſt in the vindication of a more dubious Truth; and from hence I have taken occaſion to calculate the Meridian of ſuch hot Heads, as can ſuffer no Opinions but their own to ſtand quietly by them, forgetting there is as much variety in the diſ-*

ſemblances

ſemblances of Men's minds, as Experience and Commerce do obſerve in their Bodies; which may conclude it as great folly to condemn one of a contrary Judgment, as to implead another, becauſe his Noſe is ſhorter or longer than theirs; nor is it in the reach of any thing but reſtraint to make People, unanimous no leſs againſt the Freedom of Nature, than it is ſuitable to Cuſtom and Experience, to find the contrary in Practice, where all are left to their own Election; as manifeſt in wiſe Greece *and* Rome, *as in thoſe Nations eſteemed both by them and us more Barbarous: Nor can it but be reckoned amongſt the Cauſes of the Catholicks Unity, that every one may addreſs their Prayers to what Saint they pleaſe.——Now to vindicate my ſelf from their folly, eſteem the fouleſt of their Writings a fit Copy for the World, whoſe Heads-ach like Jupiter's, till delivered of thoſe* Pallas's, *though ſo flat and deformed, as if conceived in their Thumbs.*

I may ſafely ſay, that heretofore, (however it is with me now, grown perhaps through Cuſtom more Impudent) I was not ambitious to appear in Publick, ſince ſome of my acquaintance can atteſt, that divers Pieces, of late Publiſhed, were long ago as complete, as ever I have been able to make them ſince; the firſt Cauſe of their Projection, being rather for the intent to While my ſelf, than to Buſie others. Nor ſhall I proſecute this Trade, longer than it continues acceptable to the Generality, and beneficial to the Stationer, whoſe operation hath been more effectual in this Midwifery, than any delight I can take in finding my ſelf rated according to the value of every Judgment, commonly foreſtalled by Opinion, a far nearer Friend to things of this Nature, than the higheſt Deſert, at the Foot of whoſe Tribunal I ſhould never have fallen, but to Redeem the World out of a common Error, by ſhewing Men are not ſo unhappy in the abſence of Learning, as Scholars pretend, whoſe firſt Queſtion is, What Univerſity you are of? And their laſt, if anſwered, none: For then they conſider the Party as irrational, and below Converſation, forgetting, that though Books may produce a few rough Materials, it is only in the Power of Experience, and Natural Parts, to build up and Burniſh a perfect Man.

Eſſay on ſuch as Condemn All they underſtand not a Reaſon for.

THeir Preſumption is no leſs uncivil than Prodigious, that, having nothing elſe to Warrant them but a pettiſh and ſolitary Opinion of their own, will undertake to Arraign the Truth of all they cannot Apprehend, or is not quite Arrived within the perfect Cognizance of their Reaſon, and by this Impudence do not only Proclaim themſelves Judges of the preſent underſtandings, but preſent the ſcanty meaſure of their own, as an unqueſtionable Standard for all may Succeed; forgetting to what baſe Offices they have put ſuch Conceits and Reſults to, upon a more ſerious Conſideration, which at their firſt conception they eſteemed Authentick and not misbecoming the Cabinet of a Prince. And if thus capable of deceit from themſelves, what ſecurity are they able to give for the ſpurious cenſures they paſs upon others, that one day they ſhall not be taken off from Wiſdom's File, and ſome more True and Honourable placed in their room, to the Eternal Infamy of ſuch as are ſcandalized at any thing, formerly a Stranger in the Schools: Nor is this Humour the Continent of a leſs Malignity than what hath been capable heretofore, (nor is it leſs buſie now) to obſtruct, and diſcourage all farther Proſecution after Knowledge, by branding Reaſon with an Imputation of Atheiſm: And hanging what they underſtand not, under the notion of Witchcraft, as *Foſter*, a Country Parſon, did the Weapon-ſalve, againſt which he conjured up not only the Fathers, School-

men,

men, &c. but (ſo far as his weak Talent could extend) did ſuborn Philoſophy to atteſt againſt her ſelf. Nor had this mad Duel between him and Dr. *Loyd*, (who being both of no great Strength, did weaken the Nation's repute abroad) been parted, but that Authority (to vindicate the uſual cure of the *King's Evil* from being an Operation of the Devil) did ſtep in betwixt them, the firſt gaining the Opinion of as high an Impudence for beginning, as the other did of folly, for maintaining ſo impertinent a Quarrel.

It was the cuſtom of King *James* (and a queſtion, of no ſmall improvement to his underſtanding) to diſcourſe during Meals with the Chaplain that ſaid Grace, (or other Divines) concerning ſome point of Controverſy in Philoſophy; and falling one day upon Atheiſm, he did by undeniable Arguments maintain, *No Man could be found ſo irrational, as to deny a firſt Cauſe*, (which could be no other than that Power we call God,) and therefore no ſuch thing in Nature as an Atheiſt.

What his Judgment was of Witchcraft, you may in part find by his Treatiſe on that Subject, and Charge he gave the Judges, to be Circumſpect in condemning thoſe, committed by Ignorant Juſtices, for Diabolical Compacts: Nor had he concluded his Advice in a narrower Circle (as I have heard) than the denial of any ſuch Operations, but out of Reaſon of State, and to gratifie the Church, which hath in no Age, thought fit to explode out of the Common Peoples minds an apprehenſion of Witchcraft; the greateſt Miracles now extant, making their Apparitions in the Dark Corners of this Clouded Imagination, into whoſe Cauſe I ſhall not preſume farther to peep, as eſteeming it more dangerous than terrible; yet for the better Vindication of ſuch Innocents, as are daily obſerved to paſs out of this Back-Gate of Injuſtice to another World, (whoſe Poſterns are the Ignoranc of Judges, and Folly of our Laws) I will here relate a Story of my own

Know-

Knowledge, which if too weak to refell this common Error, cannot be diveſted of Strength enough to perſuade more Diſcretion and Charity, than is ordinarily imployed in the Tryal of ſuch poor Creatures that are firſt made mad, as *Solomon* ſaith, through Poverty and Affliction, and after hanged for being no better adviſed than to confeſs what they never did, or any Fleſh and Blood was ever able to do.

Sir *Humphry Winch*, (none of the leaſt honeſt and conſcientious itinerant Judges of his Time,) was in the Northern Circuit preſented with this Evidence againſt three ſilly Women, that they had out of propenſe Malice, not only bewitched divers Cattle and Children to Death, but the principal Cauſe of their Commitment aroſe from the Son of a Gentleman that was ſuppoſed to have laid divers Months under their Faſcination, who at certain times would contract his whole Body within the compaſs of a Joyned-ſtool, and write in Hebrew and Greek Characters, though not known to be Skilled in thoſe Tongues; That a Spirit came then into him, ſent by theſe poor Wretches, by which he was ſo Tormented, as he did in his Fits Foam at the Mouth. Nor was there a greater and more probable Evidence wanting; for that Night the Judges entred the Town, one of the Witches did privately deſire the Goaler to bring her into a Room by her ſelf, where without any compulſion (a thing not omitted by our Witch-finders) ſhe told him ſhe uſed a Familiar, together with the reſt, and that they joyned to bewitch the ſaid Boy; but did humbly beſeech him her Fellows might not know it, nor ſhe be returned to the ſame Lodging, for fear they ſhould Torment her; and within few Hours dyed. Now upon the Keeper's Evidence and others of like Nature, the two were found Guilty, and Condemned to be hanged; but under this Proviſo, that in caſe they continued obſtinate in the denial of the Fact, the Sheriff ſhould remand them back, where

where they were to live till the Progreſs, which was to be Northward that Summer. The King being gratified by nothing more than an opportunity to ſhew his dexterity in diſcovering an Impoſture, (at which, I muſt confeſs him the prompteſt man living) upon his Arrival convented the Boy; where before him (poſſibly daunted at his preſence, or terrifyed by his Words) he began to faulter, ſo as the King diſcovered a fallacy, and did for a farther confirmation ſend him to *Lambeth*, where the Servants of *George Abbot* did in a few Weeks diſcover the whole deceit, and he was ſent back to his Majeſty before the end of the Progreſs; where upon a ſmall entreaty he would repeat all his Tricks often-times in a day; nor did he do and ſuffer all this for a more ſerious Cauſe, than to prevent a preſent Whipping, and avoid going to School. Amongſt other Pranks he lived in an Ortyard a Week upon Apples only.

I ſhall make no Paraphraſe, nor purſue the Argument farther, to avoid *Prolixity* no leſs than Offence. The Doctrine of ſuch, *&c.* being a *Diana*, out of which no ſmall profit is made, and credit purchaſed in reference to Opinions, otherwiſe Ridiculous and untenable.

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Prov.

Prov. 8. 30.

Give me neither Poverty nor Riches.

FRom this wise King's Prayer we may learn the danger that resides in these two Gulphs, Poverty, and Riches; the latter alluring no less to Pride, than the first tempts, if not compels, towards Atheism and Infidelity; both gathering strength and aggravation from the complexion and education of the Patient; so as if Abundance proves the Lot of a mean birth, and Want, the Companion of one bred in Plenty and Eminence, it elevates the first as far above the Sphere of Moderation, as it dejects the other below the Centre of Patience; Pride despising God's Power, no less than Poverty distrusts it: For as a perfect and harmonious Joy comes neareſt to that Pleasure and Content assured us in Heaven, so anxiety and discontent are a representation of Hell, Melancholy being the worst of Humours, because the Devil's, (if he may be thought to participate of any,) who apprehends all ill about him, and cannot but despair of better: Wherefore Poverty must be allowed the most dangerous condition, because infested with all those prodigious effects this Diabolical Passion is liable to produce; which are, in a manner, all we do in this World either punish or admire, Sin being a result of Want; from whence it becomes so far more Illegal than Unnatural, as St. *Paul* owns the Law for the most manifest Original, and exactest measure of his prevarications.

I know Abundance hath been by good men prized below Want, when offered to be made the Wages of Iniqui-

Iniquity; though none, beſides our Saviour, was ever found able to grapple with the enemy of mankind, being hungry and in want, as he was in the Wilderneſs; which remains none of the weakeſt effects left us of his Divinity, and rather inſerted as a Mark of his own power, than an Example for our imitation: Yet ſuch Monaſtical perſons as endeavour to come neareſt to it, have enough to ſatisfie, though poſſibly not to pamper Nature; the Name of Voluntary hope of Merit, and the worldly reſpect it brings, bearing moſt of the charges belonging to it: Nor have they Wives and Children, which looked through, do like Opticks multiply the Bulk of Want.

When others (not wilfully) ſick of this loathſome Plague, as if it were infectious, are not only forſaken of all, but expoſed to the Tyranny of every hand deſires to oppreſs them, Law it ſelf, (a Friend to all elſe) being ſo heavy an Enemy to the poor Beggar, as it ſeeks to diſcharge the Commonwealth of them, with no leſs induſtry than the Phyſician doth the Body of man from Humours putrid and noxious to its health. I know ſome make a Trade of Want, and by it are able to live, not only idly, but in an unbridled luxury; whereas thoſe here meant conſume their bodies by labour, or, which is more painful, in the Study of the Mind, yet cannot obtain ſo much as to purchaſe Bread ſufficient *to ſtop the mouths of their Family from barking at Heaven, and tearing God under the Veil of Fortune, for pouring upon others without limitation what is denied to them in the meaneſt proportion.* Indeed the Ancient Stoicks, no leſs than the more Modern Divines, have, and do ſtill, continue their endeavours to vindicate this unequal diſtribution from the tincture of Partiality, but have in my mind left it more ambiguous; only our Saviour, in his Anſwer penned for *Dives*, ſeems (no leſs than in other places of his Goſpel) to aſſign Heaven merely for an Inheritance to ſuch as want here, and Hell for thoſe that abound; as he that makes the words,

cannot

cannot but imagine, nor dare I apply the Figure of Hyperbole to any saying of his: Which, exactly weighed, is but a Salvo for a Mistake, an indefinite Number, or Quantity suiting better the Mouth of an Ignorant Man, than the immense Knowledge of our Blessed Redeemer. Wherefore (under the correction of a more perfect light) I think the Simile of a Camel, (or Cabel) and the Eye of a Needle, justly and mathematically proportioned to the salvation of a rich Man, who is uncapable of it, without a more miraculous Extension of the mercy of our Maker, than is by himself best known to suffice such as in this World have not enjoyed so much plenty.

And that an observation of the Law is not enough, seems to appear by Christ's bidding him that had done it, to *sell all that he had*, &c. as the thing most acceptable to God.

Wherefore I could wish, that this Tithing the Mint and Cummin of others Errours and Opinions were not so nicely performed, and Charity, with her Concomitant Probity, (the whole performance of the Commandments,) so quite neglected: Which no doubt is the great occasion of so much Indigence as may be observed now, and so contrary to that in Christ's Time, as it rather hinders than facilitates the ways to Heaven: So it appears, that the Devil himself had never experimented so much power in any person as was able to resist the temptation of Misery, and Want, till he met with *Job*; which gave him the boldness to wage (as it were) with God, that in case he removed the Hedge his Love had placed about him, he would curse him to his Face.

Wherefore it cannot be esteemed a slight provocation was the greatest Man's Enemy could invent: Had he only touched his Health, the means of Recovery might have remained; but his Livelihood being lost, nothing continued but lean Patience; far too weak wholly to ward this Blow, though it may dissemble the taking it, or cover the Wound for a season. It

It is no leſs wholeſome than decent to travel on Foot with a Horſe in thy hand, but to be deſtitute of a like eaſe tedious; wherefore *Seneca* may make Demonſtration of Wit, and preſcribe Rules for the more quiet enduring of Penury, but deſerves the leſs credit, becauſe writ at a time when himſelf had occaſion to uſe more Moderation than Patience; which makes me believe his Mind (together with the reſt of the Puritanical Stoicks) was far averſe from their Doctrine, ſince a decent frugality, out of the Society of a more ſordid covetouſneſs, could not have accumulated ſo immenſe a Treaſure as *Tacitus* reports was found about him; yet concludes his Documents with a peremptory advice, rather to die than abide in ſo little eaſe as this, and far leſs intolerable earthly inconveniences are obſerved to bring with them; which indeed were more to the purpoſe, could Chriſtianity make uſe of this his laſt Receipt, who is preſcribed by her Inſtitutes to tide it out, although the Stream of its Inconveniences runs never ſo ſtrong againſt the Nature of Man; ſo as if God had ſet any lower precipice at the bottom of the Leap, than eternal damnation, I think none ſo puſillanimous, as would not rather once take it, than to remain ſtill under the Weight of ſo heavy and unſociable a Calamity, that produceth all things hurtful or hateful to Nature: For when God mans out his Hoſts, the Poor are found in the Forlorn Hope, and Famine takes up her Head Quarters under their Roof; Nor doth the Peſtilence find a more convenient place to hatch her Malignities in, than the Boſom of the Indigent; and when the Sword is ſo noble as to ſpare him, it is not ſo much out of Mercy as Contempt, he being in this only happy, that his condition is not in a capacity to become worſe, no more than in any great probability of amendment; ſince in a general Felicity, he only is unhappy, becauſe Want renders her Owners uncapable of Truſt, by creating Suſpicion before any fault is committed; for where neceſſity abounds, there Theft

and

and Deceit are ſuppoſed, as an infallible conſequence: When a Felony, or Murder, is committed, the next Poor Houſes are ordinarily ſearched. *Where the leſs is found of their own, the greater ſuſpicion is conceived of what belongs to others*; and ſo loathſome is a Beggar eſteemed, as he that is ſo charitable as to make him drink, is yet thus uncivil towards him, as to ſhut the door, and waſh the cup after him; as if it were impoſſible for a Perſon in want, either to be true, or wholeſome, being ſhunned of the Herd, as one ſtruck by the ſevereſt arrow of his Maker's vengeance, and left nothing to accompany him but Miſery: Yet none may poſſibly apprehend him ſo wretched as he thinks himſelf, being for the moſt part deprived not only of terreſtrial, but future Comforts; for conſcious of Ill, (as what means hath he of living by, or doing any thing elſe but Evil?) through Death (the only way to lead him out of his tranſitory miſery) he apprehends one prepared for him that is eternal. The Indigent perſon, like the flying Fiſh, being not only perſecuted in his own Element by thoſe more mighty, but upon leaving it falls into their terrible claws, to whom is aſſigned the Dominion of the Air; this Croſs having wrought ſo ſtrongly with ſome Complexions, as to purge away all Belief of Providence, and revive that old damnable Opinion of a double Nature in God. Now though our bleſſed Saviour is not found above twice to ſuſtain his Followers a miraculous way, and that in the Deſart, where Nature failed; yet, by making the Rich to divide with the Poor, he ſupplyed that Defect this uneven Diſtribution occaſions in the World. And that no ſmall ſtreſs of Chriſtian Wiſdom lay in it, may ſeem to appear in the ſeverer puniſhment inflicted by St. *Peter* (in many places ſtyled the Prince of the Apoſtles) upon *Ananias* and *Saphira*, than ever was obſerved to attend ſuch as whipped, ſtoned, and perſecuted Chriſt; not only his own perſon, but that of his followers: Wherefore if thoſe thus ſet upon do daily fall into Heterodox O-

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pinions, or are not ſeldom obſerved to hang up their ſhield for Faith in the Temple of Deſpair, and convert the Study of unrewarded Vertue into the more thriving opportunities Deceit affords; they ought to receive pity from us, becauſe liable to the like lapſes our ſelves, who through Exceſs are found to rob the Poor, more than Neceſſity dares do the Rich, out of fear of the Iron-teeth of the Law, in all Nations far more ſevere than thoſe of Chriſt; who, by not reproving his Diſciples for taking the ears of Corn, gives the hungry belly a larger Charter in the enjoyment of earthly bleſſings, than the Tyranny of Power is willing to ſubſcribe; it being no ſmall augmentation of the Need's miſery, and one of the greateſt torments in Hell, to ſee all Plenty about him and want within. To conclude all farther Diſcourſe on this Tragical calamity, I ſhall ſay, (but not peremptorily,) if *Sampſon* found Mercy that deſtroyed himſelf for the gratification of his Revenge, what reaſon is there in denying it to theſe upon the greater Provocation of want?

A Contemplation on Adam's *Fall.*

SUch as think God's firſt Injunction trivial, in prohibiting *Adam* to eat of the forbidden fruit, and the temptation to break this Commandment eaſie to be avoided do not conſider that Man in his Innocency had no uſe of any external thing but Meat, nor other capacity of improving his Intellects, ſave in Knowledge; a deſire ſo diffuſed throughout the whole maſs of humanity, that ſuch as are too weak to apprehend Reaſon of State, will prie into the Cauſes of their Landlords actions, or, that failing, raiſe Tumults amongſt themſelves by a too near inſpection and *Revelation* of the news of each others miſcarriages; & this being the moſt univerſal Humour now, may render it more probable to have been the ſame did accompany Man at the firſt, Nature remaining depraved, not eraducated: Wherefore this Prohibition was placed, according to Prudence, upon that ſide our Parents were weakeſt on, and ſo more fit to receive caution; for had God forbidden them Theft, or Murther, they could not have apprehended his meaning, nothing but Will, corrupted by paſſion, being able to bring forth ſuch uncouth ſins into action, which having once faln within the compaſs of Experience, they, by conſequence, came within the notion of Knowledge, nothing being yet preſented to their imaginations but what was already arrived within the circuit of their ſenſes. The firſt Man appearing to me no better furniſhed with Knowledge than an Infant in his Primitive Innocency, but that his Organs being made perfect, he was capable to apprehend all things with the ſame Dexterity, his ſenſes

ses were able to feed his Fansie; which they might take so much pleasure, (since nothing is more tasteful to Humanity than Understanding,) that to make this Spring of Knowledge more fluent, he swallowed the Apple, the Fountain of his Infelicity, which, in stead of gratifying his Taste and Desire, depraved both. If he gave Names to the Creatures suitable to the sinful Use was after to be made of them, he did not only prophesie their future miserie, but his own; and if foreseen, why did he not prevent it? Wherefore the fault must lie either upon his Ignorance, or Will; for till his Fall he seems to have as little need of the Elephant's Docility, or the Ox's Industry, as it is improbable but that they were both made for Employment; which had been quite lost, together with all the Trades the Blessing [of Encrease and Multiply] is sustained by, had not *Adam* fallen from his Original Integrity. This makes me wonder to find *Eve* willing, or at leisure, to chat and gossip it with the Serpent, the most remote in Symmetry, from her own glorious Form; if not in Nature, from her temper and complexion, especially having so much the more excellent and adapted Companion as her Husband near her to converse with: Which might give credit to their Opinion, that the Fall was long after the Transgression; but that the impossibility of her conceiving a contaminated Issue, whilst pure in themselves, offers more than a probable confutation; it not being likely they should forget, for any considerable time, to neglect one of their principal Errands, which lay in performing the Blessing of Diffusing his Like; the most Rational Cause such can produce, as attribute their Prevarication to an excess in Concupiscence, through which the Tree growing in the midst of the Garden became contaminated. But to bury this Conjecture, (no less than the Opinion of *Josephus*, "That the Serpent "had, together with all Creatures else, before the "Fall, an articulate voice) in the more certain Rela-

tion of *Moſes*, (though in nothing more conciſe, and abſtruſe than about the beginning; not unpoſſibly that he might preſerve Truth, at the leaſt Prejudice, to Tradition; in the preſervation of which the People of God were extreme if not ſuperſtitiouſly tender) I ſhall modeſtly propoſe, that if the Serpent was really active in the ſeducing of Man, (as may ſeem to appear by the Curſe laid upon him, no leſs diffuſive, in reference to this World, than ours, it reaching the whole ſpecies, obſerved at this day to crawl upon the ground,) whether we may not infer, that this now deſpicable Creature was the firſt that went about to infringe the Ordinance of God, ſince thoſe that make the Serpent only inſtrumental to the Devil's activity, borrow it from Conjecture, not Reaſon, which was never obſerved to puniſh the Sword, but the Hand that did manage it to deſtruction: Wherefore if it was the Devil's Sin, nothing but the Serpent's conſent in making itſelf inſtrumental could procure a Puniſhment, no more than to the Winds that through his icitation, deſtroyed the Children of *Job*: Which put together may crowd a room for this Conjecture, that the Devil poſſeſſed the Serpent with Envy firſt, at ſo Glorious a Creature as Man was, and after gained its conſent to be Inſtrumental in our deſtruction, and ſo a Co-operator with Satan, and a Fellow in his Sin: For if it be thought unpoſſible the Serpent ſhould do ſo ungrateful a ſervice to humane Nature upon its own inſtigation, it appears as unreaſonable, why it ſhould bear all the Penalty, the Devil having augmented, if not begun in his Rebellion againſt his Maker, by ſeeking to Deſtroy this his Handy-work.

Theſe ſeeming contradictions, together with the Appellation of an Evening and a Morning before the Luminaries (the only Dividers of Time) were made might tempt *Philo*, the *Jew*, to dreſs, in the Life of *Moſes*, the Story of the Creation in an Allegory or Fable, who ſtanding neareſt thoſe Times, and a better

light

ſight, may be thought, by ſuch as to be Sceptical, moſt probable; but ſince the Ancient and Apoſtolical Church (to whoſe Creed, ſo far as my darker Infidelity will give me leave, I ſhall ſubmit my Judgment in all Humility) hath accomodated it to another Senſe, I think it as far from Prudence as Chriſtianity to oppoſe or in the leaſt contradict it, though apt to conſent, that the lapſed Angels might entertain more commerce upon Earth before the Promiſe of our Saviour, and whilſt Man ſtood upon his own Legs, than after God had taken him into his Protection, as not thinking it meet to truſt ſuch frailty with ſo potent an Enemy. Wherefore he confined the Devil into holes, and obſcure places, out of which, upon his own inſtigation, or imitation of the Prophets of the Lord, he gave his ambiguous Oracles, till by the brighter apparition of the Star of *Jacob* they were ſtruck as irrecoverably dumb, as they were Blind before; averred by *Plutarch* in his Morals in the *Genius* or Ghoſt of *Socrates*. And he that would find a reaſon why our firſt Parents were aſhamed of their nakedneſs, muſt not ſeek it in the Nature they conveyed to us, where Baſhfulneſs is a reſult of Cuſtom, but from the contemplation of ſome Creature then in ſight, really, or ſeemingly, more Beautiful than themſelves; there being no occaſion for Shame, but in reſpect of a more tranſcendent perfection; it remaining indubitable, that Children with us, and Men and Women amongſt the *Indians*, (not to be denied the exacteſt followers of the primitive Dictates of pure Nature,) are no more ſenſible of Shame in relation to thoſe Parts *Adam* and *Eve* are ſaid to have covered, than the *Europeans* expreſs, when found barefaced; Bluſhing being a ſilent confeſſion of a fault, not to be found amongſt the Works of God, nor any where, till the Law had ſtamped the Figures of Reward and Puniſhment upon ſuch humane Actions as do advance or depreſs the general Felicity; Cuſtom being ſo exact a Diſpoſer of the Conveniency, if not

Conſent of Mankind, as to make divers Wives in *Turky* lie quietly under one and the ſame Covering: So as it requires more than an Ordinary Intelligence to diſtinguiſh between the Free Government of Nature, and the Imperious Tyranny, if I may not call it Anarchy, (for it is in all places alike,) of Education. But leſt I ſhould appear rather a Diſciple of *Plato* than *Moſes*, I ſhall paſs by the Rabbies, no leſs than the Modern Philoſophers, that conſume more time in Hunting after the Original of the Diſeaſe, than the means to cure it, not to be found but in Jeſus Chriſt; yet, as I ſaid before, ſince no Heart is empty of the Humour of Curioſity, the Beggar being as attentive in his Station to an improvement of Knowledge, as the Prince, it is not unlikely to have been the Primary and Centrical Sin, from whence the Lines of all humane Vanities are drawn, and to which they are faſtened: For if our latter Artiſts think it no ill Argument to prove the Baſis of the Earth Magnetical, becauſe the Loadſtone is in all Climates found, why may it not be concluded from as great a Diffuſion, that a too dilated deſire of Inſpection into things was Original Sin, ſince not only obſervable in *Solomon* himſelf, but in the Picture of the Fool he draws, who ran after Variety, which is only New Knowledge of a Strange Woman, and, if I am not deluded by thoſe more Learned, one Word in the Original is taken for Both? But to proceed: When *Eve* ſaw the Fruit ſhe did covet, and Concupiſcence is enough now to Condemn us, though not then, the Text placing the Tranſgreſſion in Eating, not Deſiring, that remaining impoſſible to be prevented, all things, till contaminated by Sin, being in ſo high a degree of perfection, as they did enforce a coveting in all did behold them, "It appearing "too low a Sacrament of Duty in Man, the ſupreme "Vice-gerent of the Almighty, to have for a Teſtimo-"ny of Obedience, only abſtained from what was in "it ſelf but merely indifferently good.

It

It is not likely he covered his Nakedneſs with Leaves of the ſame Tree from whence he gathered his Deſtruction, as thoſe imagine who ſuppoſe the Indian Fig to be the forbidden Fruit; for how ſhould he dare to touch that a ſecond time, had wounded him at firſt quite through himſelf and his Poſterity? Though confeſſed a perfect Repreſentation of Guilt; one Root being ſo Diffuſive, as by a Gum that diſtils from the Boughs, to dilate it ſelf into the vaſt ſhade of a Deſart, ſufficient to cover an hoſt of Men.

Nor is Curioſity and a Liquoriſh Deſire of enjoying that we never tried (though known to be the Cloud, in which all the Storms impending Life are engendred) yet cured in us, "Who by Retail drop into the ſame "Error we conſider in him as the higheſt and moſt im-"pertinent Folly, the Apple of a wandering Eye not "being ſeldom found able to overbalance the Wiſdom "of *Solomon*, and the Piety of *David*.

Wherefore it is time to give over upbraiding thoſe Names of *Adam* and *Eve*; all things we never ſaw or knew being empty ſounds, and Impertinent Appellations, not ſeldom laden, out of Ignorance in the Contents of their Story, (as a Number of other dead voices are,) with inſignificant Praiſe, or Blame; eſpecially ſince *Moſes* and the Prophets are not heard to condemn them, as conſcious to themſelves they either would or could not but have done the like: Yet we may ſafely ſay, that between the ſuſpenſion of the Promiſe and the Fall, (which may poſſibly anſwer the time Chriſt remained on the Croſs) *Adam* endured greater Agonies than e're were matched, but by God and Man, who only knew the way to untread the Maze in which Man had loſt himſelf, and all that ſhould ſucceed, if ſo Wicked as to harbour a deſire of Dilating himſelf, and bringing an Off-ſpring into a like Dilemma, in which he ſaw nothing for the Preſent, but horrour joined with a fearful expectation of worſe to come, not having ſo much as the weak twig of Hope

to ſuſtain him from failing into deſpair; which could not ſpring but from the Root of an Experience, ariſing from a former experimented Mercy the Garden having not yet produced any Fruit ſo lateward, there being as little marks of Forgiveneſs as there was a diſmal example of Juſtice ſtamped upon the Diſobedient Angels; whoſe condition was yet ſo far better than Man's, as an already determined Judgment is more tolerable than one that remains ſtill Arbitrary, at the Will of an Omnipotent Power; and in this "miſerable anxiety, God ſaves *Adam*, "whom nothing elſe was ſo mercifull as to kill.

Now I can do no leſs than predicate here a more Charitable Opinion than theirs that conclude, the greateſt proportion of Men lie under the Kingdom of Satan; by which the Promiſe of Redemption comes to be reſtrained, and ſo the Truth of its performance obſtructed; it being no where obſervable in the dignity of Reaſon that a ſuperlative Power ſhould go leſs, or beneath, its Word in relation to Good; it exceeding the reach of the moſt rigid diſtinction, or ſtricteſt interpretation to find a parity, or equal proportion, between the Head and the Heel, if any were diſcoverable, between cruſhing and biting. This makes me tremble at their Preſumption, who carry breath in their Noſtrils, yet are not affraid to affirm, "That all things ſo dear to our Maker, as "to be capable of a future Happineſs, are not be "found out of the Pale of Chriſtendom, this or that "Church, or rather Chappel: No ſingle Profeſſion extant carrying a greater proportion with the whole World than a peculiar Pariſh doth to a Province; as if the Fountains of God's Mercy were not as Ingenious, and his ſeven Spirits as diffuſive as thoſe of *Nilus*; by which the want, not the neglect, of Rain is ſupplied in *Egypt*: Nor can it be imagined with any Salvo, to the Dignity, Piety, Wiſdom, Omnipotency, and the Promiſe of God firſt made, and therefore likely to be moſt inviolably kept, (he not being as Man, that he

ſhould

ſhould repent, for that the Earth is the Lord's, and all that therein is, the Fulneſs thereof, cannot be true, if Hell ſwallow up the major part; and that Chriſt his Son ſhould be found at the leaſt Aſſizes, with a ſmaller Train (let their Glory be never ſo great) than his ſhall March in the Head of thoſe Miſerable Souls, cloathed with the Wrath of God. Can any in Prudence, if in Equity, think that the Malice of his Enemy ſhould be more diffuſive in relation to particulars, than the Mercy of our Bleſſed Saviour, who did not like the Devil, fall for our Deſtruction, but riſe for our Juſtification? There now lives not a greater Infidel than St. *Thomas* was, yet the Apoſtles do not excommunicate him, nor Chriſt reject him, but cure him through a palpable manifeſtation of thoſe Wounds the greateſt part of the World have not, nor ever had any Knowledge of, not thoſe moſt reſerved any inſpection into, but what they make through ſo ſmall a Faith as doth not anſwer the proportion of a Grain of Muſtard Seed; elſe they would remove thoſe Mountains that ſhadow Truth. And if ſo ſingle an atteſtation as mine might be allowed the boldneſs to appear againſt ſuch a Cloud of Witneſſes, as have found the *Turk* and *Pope* guilty in Perſon of the Title of *Anti-Chriſt*, I ſhould reverſe the Sentence, and pronounce it rather againſt that order of Men, or Diſcipline, that put the Forgiveneſs of God under a Buſhel, (which, according to his Dignity and Promiſe, ought to diffuſe it ſelf over all the Nations of the World,) rendering by this means, the inexhauſtible Treaſurer of Mercy, like the Philoſopher's Stone, of which ſome have made the Goſpel of Jeſus Chriſt but an Allegory,) only attainable by a People thus ſituated, inſtructed, and qualified; whereas none that call upon the Name of God (a cuſtom appears by *Geneſis* not to have begun till after *Adam*) are exempted out of the Primitive Grant: The fault of the Angels, if compared with that of Man,

Man, will not be found, upon a true Survey, much different; the first endeavouring to Equal their Maker in his Power, the latter in his Wisdom.

It is harder to find a Reason, for the Angels Sin against God, than their Malice to Men, it being usual for Malefactors to hate their Judge, and after Sentence to endeavour the hindrance of its Execution, and to bring others (at least they know he Favours) into a like Condemnation; having themselves no better condition to hope for, nor worse to fear; like the Wicked of this World, which seek that Ease amongst Company they are not able to find alone: Wherefore the preventing Satan's farther Triumph may not improbably be numbred amongst the Causes, why God shewed Mercy to Men; in the Salvation of whom, had he been so sparing as some imagine, his Justice would appear more prevalent than his Mercy, and so run out into such a Dishonourable extreme, as cannot be matched in the Practice of the greatest Tyrants that ever were, which are not found to make a temporal Punishment to extend to a Major part, much less, one eternal.

Whatever the Text may seem to import to our dull Capacities, there was no likelihood that *Adam* would have in this condition (if he rightly understood himself) Eat of the Tree of Life, but rather have swallowed Poison (had that Place afforded it,) who, by catching at the Shadow of Divinity, lost the real Substance of Humanity, at the suggestion of the Devil; who seeing God form a Governor out of the Dust, the most despicable part of his Government, yet a more Honourable beginning than his, (any thing being better that nothing,) he might look upon it with Disdain, as unworthy the Sentence of Goodness: Neither might this

this Humour of Pride be provoked, if he be admitted so much inspection into future Success, as to see the Creature he despised should not only inherit the Glory he was faln from, but exceed the Angels that continued in integrity. Thus the Serpent growing fruitful in presumption, endeavours to frustrate his Maker's Intention, by labouring to deface his Image in Man.

But Omnipotence struck Light out of Darkness, by making the Prince of it instrumental to the production of his Son; and these joyful Tydings, *That the seed of the Woman should prevail against the Gates of Hell*, God brings himself as a token that he meant to perform it in his own person; neither is it to be passed without notice, that he saith, *the seed of the Woman* only; for by that might be prefigured the miraculous conception of our blessed Saviour without a Man, no less than the perverseness of depraved Nature: For though *Adam* had thus offended and felt an effect of the punishment in his present Apprehension, yet he was not able to lay hold on the weak Vertues of Repentance and Acknowledgment the lawful Daughters of Hope, with whom yet he had no acquaintance, much less Interest, before the Promise of Christ; but in stead of these tokens of Grace, he wanted not the impudence to lay the fault on God, as if the Woman had been made and given him for his destruction; and in this *Eve's* sin was less, and her manners more; "For though she "would not take it to her self, but cast it on the Ser-"pent, yet she doth not upbraid God with the making "of it.

Now by God's mild Answer in this, no less than in his Colloquie held with *Cain* after the murther of his Brother, we may find he is not angry according to the mode of Men, or, as some represent him, with thunder continually in his hand; as if our prevarications and miseries had created passions in our Maker, and taught him to be angry or merciful; since if ever he had

had been capable of Fury, it had now appeared, when he found Malice, Ingratitude, Folly, and Pride, laid all in the way to interrupt his Work, which his Juſtice muſt have ruined, had it not been quenched by Love; Vertue taken out of the hidden Fountain of his Goodneſs, which till then he was not pleaſed to reveal.

And here his paſſing by all notice of the Devils operation in *Adam*'s Tranſgreſſion may colour their Opinion, that think, "Sin did then, and now doth, pro-"ceed from our ſelves.

Conjectural

Conjectural Queries:

OR,

Problematical Paradoxes

Concerning

Reaſon, Speech, Learning, Experiments, and other Philoſophical Matters.

By *FRANCIS OSBORN*, Eſq.

To his very worthy Friend,

Mr. *Ro. Wo.*

Of *Linc.* College in *Oxon.*

SIR,

DID I own the Wiſdom and Wealth of Seneca, *as truly as I do the higheſt Affection he preſends to in his Epiſtles, this had contained Matter no leſs ſuitable to the Greatneſs of your Judgment, than the Obligation I muſt ever acknowledg I owe to your Goodneſs; but ſince I am reſtrained from the firſt by Birth, as I am from the latter by Fortune, you may yet be woo'd to a more charitable acceptance upon this conſideration, that though the Preſent be ſmall, it was not filched from* Epicurus, *or any Magazine of Knowledge, than what lies included within my own Invention: Which proves this I ſend you as abſolutely mine, as ever it was theirs (if any ſuch be) that may have diſcovered it before I was born; for being acquitted by my Conſcience of all Theft in this kind, I take the Recitements of others Opinions, as relating to no greater a ſhame in me, than thoſe are obnoxious to, who enriched us with Guns and Printing, becauſe ſome maintain they were uſed in* China *many thouſand years before; the rencomer being no leſs happy than his that ſtumbled on it at firſt.*

I confeſs I have been ſo baſely abuſed by Books, as that I entertain none but upon high Commendations; and thoſe rather New than Old, however the World is pleaſed to look a ſquint upon them, as leſs deſerving, though ſome have appeared of late to admiration, and ſo far tranſcendent as I fear our Period is near, Ignorance and Barbariſm, being commonly the laſt ſubdued before a general Deſtruction.

Knowledge hath been ever taken for an infallible portent of Ruin, found ſo buſie a Companion, as ſhe leaves nothing unpried into, in Heaven or Earth, towards the Highths and Depths of which ſhe is not continually rolling her Conjectures and caſting her Darts; tenable through no Opinions long, but what ſhe remains fettered to with the ſtrong Chains of the Mathematicks, a Study no leſs natural than neceſſary; the employment of Children, in their exacteſt innocency, being to make Houſes and raiſe Pies of Dirt; ſo as if this inclination were encouraged and ſupported through the direction of diſcreet Teachers, theſe Buds might come in future to yield (without tormenting and ſubduing their Spirits) more wholeſome Fruit than the crueller Culter of the School was ever found yet able to produce.

But I hold it no Prudence here to give a ſecond blow, by which the Idolaters of former Cuſtoms may be tempted to a like ſeverity, in caſe I ſhould miſtake, as 'tis very poſſible I may, the Land-skip I endeavour to draw being darkened through Ignorance, Superſtition, and what is more dreadful, a thick and obſcure cloud of different Judgments ſo long embraced for the Goddeſs of Truth, as none can proſecute the contrary, though never ſo far off, under hope of a milder penalty, than to be ſent away naked, and wounded, which cannot but be thought an uncivil kind of Juſtice, and unſuitable to the primitive and richer Ages of the World; where then as few were denied to ſearch at we find now able to determine, every Sect of Philoſophers domineering in his Station.

Yet

Yet rather than betray natural Reason into their hands, who desire to cut off all farther Traffick with the Land of Knowledge, I shall leave these Paradoxes, Problems, Queries, Conjectures, or what you please to call them, wholly to your Disposure, being resolved neither to be dejected, nor elated through their Destruction or Preservation, only I am confident if they can pass with the smallest degree of your approbation, it may prove a safe conduct in Justice against the severest Censures of others, no less than a perpetual testimony, that I am

Your faithful Friend

and Servant

Conjectu-

Conjectural *Paradoxes*

CONCERNING

Reaſon, Speech, Learning, Experiments, &c.

MOST Philoſophy lies Clouded by Diſputes, and the Magiſterial Determinations of the Schools, from whence it hath, till of late, been thought preſumption to appeal, their manifeſt Errors do appear in what they have aleady judged; and many as material things paſſed by under ſilence or reſtraint, that cannot be denied as fit to be known; nor any ſo likely to diſcover new Truths as ſuch as march by themſelves, and out of the beaten track of others; Curious Ideas being, like Precious Stones, ſooner ſtumbled upon and found in places leaſt looked for, than Started by the Direction of any that went before; who have left only diſcouragement, or at leaſt but a negative, or ſuch a perplexed Knowledge, as renders their underſtanding that reſt in it, more offuſcated and gloomy than the moſt ſtupid Ignorancc it ſelf.

Which together affords me cauſe enough to think our rare " Inventions and pregnant Wits ſtifle their " own natural fertility through a too long and fre- " quent commerce with Books, not ſeldom of a con- " trary complexion and ſtyle to the Readers, yet " forced out of Cuſtom to to be converſant in them

By

By which he is brought to ſtammer, and become ſo diffident of himſelf (ſuch Learning lying in Memory, the moſt pedantical part of Knowledge,) as he dares not deliver his own Opinion out of reverence to Antiquity or any Authors elſe, but in the ſame Words he finds it written. The doting upon foreign Authority keeping us ſtill at a ſtand, like the Body of *Joab*'s Brother, beyond which the *Iſraelites* would not paſs, out of a vain reverence to their General.

And thus all farther Proſecution of Knowledge and Conqueſt over Ignorance is obſtructed, and Scholars tied to cultivate and confine their Travels within the Circuit of a Barren Wilderneſs, ſtocked with inſignificant Terms, and ſuch crabbed alluſions and improbable concluſions, that have no better Plea for their Authority than the exhorbitant veneration which Tradition, rather Merit, hath awarded Antiquity above the equal, if not better Judgments found in our Age; nor is there hope of any farther, or more happy Progreſs, till theſe rotten Carcaſſes be removed out of the way, or covered from their Eyes that want not Hearts and abilities to jog on better without them.

The firſt Man could have at the beginning but this advantage of a Child, that his Organs were immediately fitted and prepared to receive, no leſs than retain Knowledge; which in an Infant are obſtructed through want of room, or too great a redundancy of Phlegm or Moiſture.

For if *Adam* was furniſhed with more, it muſt be ſupernatural, and ſo far above humane apprehenſion, as it is to imagine how he ſhould know his Goods, or the uſe of what he never had ſeen or tried, unleſs we conceive he brought an Inventory or Herbal, into the World with him.

Wherefore according to humane underſtanding, Reaſon, like Fire, was at the beginning but a Spark, till through a confluence of all events happenable to

Man, it received augmentation, as the other did from the ſupplement of Matter; and having once caught Paper, did illuminate the World.

Now though ſo much Knowledge is not unlikely to be found in the Creature, as that with the ſame advantages to increaſe it, they might become more intelligent than ſtill to remain Slaves: Yet I find room for a Querie "*Whether this defect, (if capable of that Title) doth not proceed rather from the want of Speech, than perception? Or, Whether Humanity that arrogaets ſo high, as to Proclaim it ſelf Lord over all, may not be found in ſome Perſons and Places,* (as it might not impoſſibly have been in the reſt) *little more rational, had it not greater ſtock of Experiments to traffick with, than every reſpective individual is able to glean up of himſelf?* Our advantages proceeding from Commerce, whoſe Wheel once ſet a work did quickly manifeſt on which ſide Gain or Loſs lay, the primitive Knowledge of Good and Evil, and before whoſe door Sin was firſt found.

And this inſpection into things, at the beginning dim and modeſt, became, by handing from one generation to another, ſo huge a Mountain in their eſtimation who preſumed to have made a full and exact Survey of the Land of Knowledge; that with the Gyants of old, they did not only rant it over men's Perſons and Conſciences, by proportioning what extent of Worſhip befitted the Gods, but erected their Pillars upon the Borders of Philoſophy under ſuch an imperious injunction, as none, till of late, have ventured to diſcover any thing beyond them; though found in other deſcriptions and relations very falſe, by multiplying ſuch poor advantages as man hath acquired, and depreſſing greater which do naturally belong to the Creature, who is inſpired with the ſame breath, inhabits the ſame Earth, is more healthful and ſtrong; only he ſeems to come ſhort in Reaſon, the Original of which I ſhall make my farther endeavour to diſcover

ver; and if it prove in the abſtract more adventitious than natural, and leſs beneficial than the Senſes, upon whoſe ruine ſhe hath built her Foundation, I hope it may hold forth an Uſe of humility unto us, if not move pity towards the Creature, who the Apoſtle juſtly ſaith groans for its Deliverance.

It is on all hands confeſſed without the leaſt whiſper of Contradiction, that "*Luxurious, Idle, and "Vitious Nations are moſt pregnant and happy in the Rich-"eſt Endowments of the mind. And that it is ordinary "with divers in Ecſtacies, Fevers, acute Diſeaſes, and "during the ſtorms of Love, Fear,* &c. *to have their In-"ventions ſoar higher than in a more entire Health "they have been found after able to reach.* From whence it is deducible, that Reaſon (for ought we know) may be but the effect of thoſe corporeal infirmities from which without queſtion it receives Augmentation, ſince Wiſdom is not found frequently mingled with Strength and Beauty, the Richeſt endowments unſophiſticated Nature appears to own in all things living beſides; whereas ſome, if not the generality of Men, outwardly crooked and deformed, utter Inventions moſt neatly compoſed, the loſs and defect in one external Senſe or Part making a treble compenſation in the Mind, contrary to Beaſts, amongſt whom thoſe of the exacteſt Features are moſt uſeful and docile.

Nor is it probable but ſuch variety of Food ſeparated from the Blood by Fire, and compounded with Sugar, Spices, Salt, Sawces, Perfumes, with all ſorts Viands relating to the high taſte, which eaten are convertible into our own Bodies, ſhould alter and add to the Faculties of the Mind, and fill us in the Day with ſome of thoſe rational Ruptures to apprehend from the vapours they raiſe ſo palpably during ſleep; not to be denied the effects of a diſtempered Brain, and ſtrangers to ſuch Creatures and Perſons as are of more natural diets, or make their repaſt on Herbs and leſs

ſophiſticated Meats, through which Flegm is encreaſed, ſo known a Retarder of underſtanding as to protract the maturity of Children, till by a drier aliment and unnatural heat they are expoſed to (eſpecially their Heads) it is conſumed; a concurrent cauſe of this rational advantage we pretend to have over Beaſts, that wanting the uſe of Fire, are neceſſarily more repleniſhed with Fluid humours, and ſo by conſequence leſs wiſe, though far more agile, healthful, and ſtrong: whereas thoſe to whom we allow the largeſt proportion of underſtanding, are weak, meagre, and ſtill under ſome courſe of Phyſick, which may paſs for another cauſe of Knowledge, the operations of the mind being moſt Prevalent in decrepid Bodies.

The ſame is incident to Wine, that doth not ſeldom inſpire a Clown with Civilty, a Coward with Valour, the moſt ſordidly Covetous with Liberality; and (what is moſt conducible to the Aſſertion in Hand) a Fool with a larger proportion of Wit than he had, though unable to reduce it into a habit, by reaſon of ſome obſtruction or leakage in his Organs. From whence it is apparent, that Fancy and conceit may be gratified at the prejudice of the Senſes, no leſs than by the uſual practice of Students, Poets, and Accomptants, that uſe all endeavours to exclude and ſtifle the Ideas both of their Eyes and Ears, whoſe diverſions they can by no means admit without hazarding the happy ſucceſs of all they are in labour to bring about; whereas Beaſts, by reaſon of their continual fears, find leiſure to be attentive to nothing but Senſe; like a Town beſieged, wherein all other Arts ceaſe, but what may contribute to Relief and Preſervation, becauſe Hearing and Smelling are their chiefeſt Outguards, and without which they cannot in ſafety gather their Food. Nor doth their care extend beyond this for want of that Spur of Neceſſity, (formed through the mediation of their own Arts and Nature) with which Men are pricked on to new inventions, being

in

at better leisure and more security, able (standing in little awe but of their own species) to consume those Spirits in internal contemplations, through which both themselves and their Fellow Creatures are rendred more miserable than by Nature, without this Improvement (of what they call Wisdom) they needed to have been, whilst the other Animals are forced to dissipate them amongst their Senses, only to purchase Food and Safety; yet the Knowledge so much boasted of, is no more ours than Honey is the Bees, before picked up out of the less erring practices of the more Innocent Creatures, from whence they have deduced their best principles to the very Arts used by themselves in the Preservation or destruction of their own kind. And these hoorded up in Memory, the Megazine of by-past Events, though possibly at first no more retentive in Man's Head than Beasts, till by the fumes of the former mentioned excess, ours become so oily, like a Pot-lid, and apt for receipt, as nothing worthy observation could escape without leaving an impression behind it. And in this Mold with the help of Fire, and a continual refining through Time, the purest reason, so much relied on by Statists and Politicians, came at first to be cast.

And that this is not obtruded upon belief under a single Testimony, it may be found the Opinion of the *French* Nation, where they have not a more apposite expression for a Fool, than that his Head is ill made; no weak Argument of an universal Belief, that Midwives skill doth highly conduce to an advancement or depression of Wisdom in a Child. And from hence I have been led to this wish, that the like Office might be performed on the behalf of a young Ape (of the Kingdom of *Congo* of which some years since I saw one in *England*, that bore Symmetry, if not throughout, yet very little differing from a Child's) whose Skull being kept from a too sudden closing by heat, swathing, and the rest of the ligations used by Nur-

ſes to Infants, might not unpoſſibly acquire reaſon, which once attained, the impediments to Speech (whoſe principal cunning lies in a muſical Diviſion, or mincing a continued ſound into articulate Notes) would be no ſooner diſcovered than removed; we enjoying many things under the favour and endeavours of Reaſon, far more difficult and remote from the Confines of Nature, than the Coinage of Languages, rendred apparent through the Multitude of them met within the World; and this once acquired, though by chance, and not altogether conſonant to the exact pattern of Nature, Cuſtom, aſſiſted by Imagination might render diffuſe for the future, as I believe not only many of our new purchaſed qualities, but divers of thoſe, Man's curioſity hath imprinted upon his own Kind or others, are already become manifeſt in a Succeſſion of Dogs whelped without Tails. To which mutilation (at firſt no queſtion purely humane, or merely accidental) Nature hath been ſo indulgent already, as inſtead of an unſightly Bob, to form a ſharp comely Bone, like the Scut of a Deer.

Now ſince we are able to add to, or diminiſh from Nature's work, both in reference to Body and Mind, it cannot appear improbable, that many alterations (perhaps greater than we are able to imagine, or ready to believe) have had their Flux and Reflux often repeated, or changed ſince the beginning; which may render it no improbable Opinion (but as true as formerly it hath been common) that Apes were of the Seed of *Cham*, or elſe the By blows of ſome wild ſtock of humanity; the Characters of whoſe kind remaining no leſs manifeſt in their Bodies, than affections to Women, of which there are ſo many living Witneſſes, as it were ſuperfluous to endeavour to prove it: Only this may be added as a farther Teſtimony, that my ſelf have ſeen two Monkies that for many Years did not fail to have duly a Lunary Purgation.

Nor

Nor is this any rare Diſcovery, but cited as a Report by the Lord *Mountaign* in his Eſſays, no leſs than we find it in the uſual practice of the Almighty in the Scriptures, " To Puniſh a Sin in the Succeſſion of a Family, as he did ſome with ſhort Life, others with Leproſie, *&c.* the recital of which I will fully omit, it being my task rather to propoſe than determine.

And if any underſtand what is ſaid here in a more poſitive Senſe, they abuſe themſelves no leſs than wrong me, who have no ſtronger aſſertions to juſtifie this, than my weak Conjecture, which is, that if God laid the Deprivation of Reaſon upon theſe Monſters (for other they cannot appear to be, bearing a ſhape and owning Geſtures as various from the reſt of Animals, as their Conceptions are remote from the Prudence of a Man) " for any peculiar Offence, or that " humane Luſt did cauſe it, by caſting Seed into an " irrational and improper Soil, there lies no cure " for this Beſtiality, if not in Heat; Cold being a heavy Enemy to activity of the Mind, though a tryed Friend to Strength, and a continuer of perfection; as heat on the contrary Melts and Refines the Spirits into a more Rational Temper. The firſt of which is exemplified in Sheep and Kine, which, though uſeful, cannot be excluded the Catalogue of the moſt ſimple; for expoſing their new fallen Young to the Injury of the Weather, their Pores become ſealed up ſo cloſe as the Croſs and Flegmatick Strangle the purer Spirits, only capable of that vivacity and cunning found in theſe Creatures forced to uſe Stratagems in the gaining of their Food, whoſe Whelps are houſed in Dens and Thickets. Nor are the Foggy humours in thoſe Creatures rarified by Sweat, moſt proper to the Heads of Men, that in Horſes being rather ſqueezed out by Labour, than diſtilled gently by Drops, through which Nature obtains an opportunity to pick and chuſe, who uncompelled will part

part with nothing but what is bad or ſuperfluous.

Now if the Head be capable of molding into one Figure, more apt for the production of Reaſon than another, (as it is on the ſide of common experience confeſſed,) then can as little doubt be made, but that it muſt needs have been light upon in a far leſs revolution of Time than the World hath already paſſed over, if certain of her own Chronologie, which ſome have extended many thouſand of years beyond what by Faith we are obliged to believe; and Wiſdom once attained could never be loſt, ſince (as it is reported of the Elixar) ſhe receives augmentation and improvement from every event. And becauſe our greater ſecurity and variety of Food hath ſuffocated and abated ſo much of our ſenſe, as it is in no proportion able to find employment for our fancy, (againſt whoſe Nature it is to be idle) as that more entire may do in the Creature: Man is continually ruminating of what is paſt, or attentive on what is preſent, and by comparing of theſe, is in ſome Mediocrity taught to determine of the Future, having Wiſdom or Folly objected to him, according as the Conjecture doth quadrate with Truth, and the concurrence of a happy ſucceſs: Whereas the reſt of Animals not being able to eſtate their Young, and ſuch as ſucceed in their dear bought experiences, (if not for want of memory, the mint of Knowledge, yet out of an incapacity for Diſcourſe, and diſability to employ ſuch Arts as are only proper to Societies limited by Laws) become ſtunted in their Knowledge; and without emprovement, not owning a larger Stock than the Brevity of a turbulent life is able to accumulate, for want of Words, which, coined into Queſtions and Anſwers, are only able to barter our own, and purchaſe the Wiſdom belonging to others.

Now if any think people were born Wiſe at the firſt, (I mean in relation to the underſtanding now currant) they cannot but alter their Opinion upon contemplation

tion of the vaſt improvement one Age makes of what went before, and how many new and more uſeful Arts are now as it were daily invented.

And as the want of Words is a total Eclipſe of any nearer drawn or farther progreſs in the Creature towards Reaſon, ſo we find the confuſion of Languages no ſmall Remora to the enlargement of Man's; the which (as is obſervable in ſome Plagues elſe,) though immediately poured on us by God for Sin, have their radical Cauſe yet extant in Nature it ſelf; ſo a variety in Dialects may by ſuch probabilities as theſe ſeem to be occaſioned, Speech being but an appellation of things of which Providence hath beſtowed many in one place, denied to others, a diverſity of Languages muſt needs attend as a neceſſary conſequence; made yet more various and leſs intelligible from moiſture and drought, through whoſe mediocrity or exceſs, ſound is rendred either liquid, or mute, proportionate to the contraction or extenſion of their Organs who do, or may hereafter inhabit the place that cannot but naturally own the Cauſes of ſuch Effects, ſome pumping their Words out of their Throats, others lower; as I knew a tall Scotchman, allowed a Penſion from King *James*, that could frame a Voice at the mouth of his Lungs, ſeeming to be remote from the Ears of the neareſt Byſtander; a Fallacy no leſs likely to be in practice with the Prieſts of *Apollo*, than the Original of many miraculous narrations of old: And through this variety of Tone and Pronunciation it oftens comes to paſs, that an Engliſhman is not able readily to converſe with a Stranger in one and the ſame Latin. From whence we may modeſtly obſerve that Nature had the Confuſion of Tongues in *Potentia*, before God reduced it into an actual Plague, who did not then create it a-new, no more than he did the Rain-bow, but did only accommodate this Puniſhment to his preſent purpoſe.

Now though the multiplicity of Idioms may in ſome part cloud our Knowledge from the Experiences to be gained

gained by Strangers, yet the Time uſually ſpent, and the hardſhip endured at School to diſſipate theſe mediums, and to learn to ſee through them, may not unpoſſibly be heavier and more tedious than the curſe it ſelf.

It being likelier to have been the voice of Cuſtom than Reaſon that fonted a bare Knowledge in Tongues with the title of Learning; in the proſecution of which the Spirits of Children are blunted, and Wit exchanged for inſignificant Terms, and a ſtupid ignorance of all things elſe, under the tyrannical Regiment of an ignorant *Pedagogue*; who if good for any thing, that Art muſt needs go ſo averſe to the grain of his Underſtanding, as he cannot but be a mere Emperick in it; apparent in the moſt, becauſe ſeldom undertaken, but as a laſt Reſerve, and after more eaſie and thriving Profeſſions have been tried; where if the ſalary prove not more neceſſary to his Fortune, than ſo unmanly an Erudition doth to the miſerable Child, 'tis eaſie to gueſs who drove the Bargain. And this Plague paſt ſome to bail themſelves out of the Deſarts of Want, and the Sons of others leſs needy to attain an inſight into ſuch Tongues as our Anceſtours Folly, not Reaſon, prompted them to prefer before Experience, the Dialect of the World, and with which you may travel farther, and in more ſecurity, than with all the Learning in *Europe*.

The Child now in his moſt docile Age to ſtudy men' and ſofteſt temper to take the impreſſion of patience and compliance, is by a learned Tutour and brazen-faced impudence gained in the Schools ſwept and garniſhed to receive a ſeven fold more wilful and indomitable ignorance in relation to what is convenient and becoming a Citizen of the World; a falſe Opinion of what he hath not covering from his apprehenſion ſuch defects as really he hath.

Such as make Learning a full employment have their Judgment ſo over-awed by Antiquity, that, like Players,

ers, they dare preſent nothing in publick, but what their Poets have left them written; and if any exception can be made againſt that general Rule, which concludes *a too long continuance at the Univerſity no great advancer of parts*, it will be found amongſt ſuch as paſſed under the notion of Raſcals and Libertines, it being obvious to proof (if I were willing to regiſter thoſe glorious Names under ſuch a monſtrous head) that none have graced Learning more than ſome the Univerſity hath exploded; Invention being an Art of too noble a nature to be learned under an Apprenticeſhip, or the great reſtraint of the Schools, that ſpoil and dead the freſh and piquant taſte of latter and new Wits, by putting them into old forms, patched up with Sentences, which doth unadvoidably make a rent in the Author's ſtyle; it being impoſſible for one to write or behave himſelf ſuitable to the guſt of all, or of the major part that hath not ſpent his time in a more univerſal commerce than the guiſe of an Academy is able to afford. And if any doubt of this Truth, ſhew the Infidel a mere Scholar in the company of Ladies; or (that failing to convert him,) a managing his Horſe or Eſtate after the old Idolater his Father or Uncle is dead, who thought no other Calves deſerved to be Worſhipful that had not learned to bleat after the mode of *Dan* or *Bethel*.

The ancient, and indeed moſt natural, Tryal for Land in this Nation (ſince Strength and Valour meaſures out the livelihood and place of abode to every Creature) was by Combate, at this day reduced into the Art of Fencing, whoſe exacteſt Profeſſours are not ſeldom confounded, and beaten out of their play, by an active Country-man, that owns no more Cunning than a robuſt arm, and a quick eye, is able to inform a Cudgel withal, eaſily found in every Wood, becauſe managed contrary to a premiſed method, the practice of the Science (far eaſier called noble than proved ſo) had only acquainted the Fencer with, who becomes farther

to

to ſeek, and is put in a greater Diſarray, through this more natural, but leſs methodical way, than another poſſibly might have been, that deals his Blows by a leſs artificial Direction; the Faculties of Soul and Body being obſerved at long running to receive ſeldom amendment, often Detriment, from the Reſtrictions of Art, unleſs in things like Painting, merely deluſive, or Grafting and Planting, wholly laborious; theſe being Embelliſhers, if not Reſtorers, of Nature; whereas the Liberal Sciences (as the Schools call them) labour to confine Experience within general Rules, tho' found to be as diffuſive and numberleſs as the Accidents and Events depending upon Motion, and through whoſe mediation alone Reaſon is capable of a farther improvement.

As Man's refuſing no nouriſhment hath already been owned (and I doubt not but under the favour of ſome ſeeming probability at leaſt) for an Advancer of that Wiſdom we tranſcend the reſt of God's Creatures in, ſo I preſume it may as rationally be propoſed for an occaſion of long Life; ſince (through ſo various a change of meats) the ſeveral humours of our Bodies are in a continual viciſſitude ſo ſtimulated, and held in ſuch an equal conteſt, as neither Heat nor Cold, Drought nor Moiſture, are ſuffered to exceed that juſt proportion Nature hath aſſigned to maintain all things in Being; few Creatures attaining to ſo long a continuance as Elephants, Horſes, *&c.* moſt domeſtical with men, which by reaſon of the great variety of Herbs they feed on in Summer, and their dry Dyet in Winter (noted by that honourable Reſtorer of Philoſophy for a great prolonger of Life) do not ſeldom reach the moſt ordinary Ages of Men: And amongſt Birds, thoſe of Prey, Parrots, and Geeſe; the firſt feeding on all ſorts of Fleſh, (nor will they refuſe Fiſh upon occaſion; as the ſecond of every thing eatable by us; the third upon what is held venomous to humane Nature, beſides Graſs and Corn; whereas Doves Sparrows,

rows, &c. are of ſhort continuance. To which I ſhall only add, in favour of my former aſſertion, that the Fowls firſt mentioned come ſhort in underſtanding of nothing that hath Wings.

I heard it firſt affirmed by a *French* Student in Phyſick, and known it verified by my own experience in relation to many, that all Fowl may be eaten (if not for Delight) in a Siege, or time of neceſſity, without danger, Opiuion rather than Nature having cauſed a diſguſt generally ariſing againſt ſome (of themſelves) delicate Meats, as my ſelf can atteſt for Young bald Buzzard, Sparrow-hawks, Owls, &c. together with a number of things more an effeminate niceneſs hath exploded our Tables; yet in the mean time Muſhrooms, Frogs, Whelks, Snails, &c. have crawled into the Diſhes of Princes, and are daily eaten in their Courts for Dainties, which, amongſt other Viands not in uſe amongſt our Anceſtors, are not likely to occaſion other Vapours than their more unſophiſticated Food did alembick the Heads of ſuch orderly Perſons withal, whoſe Dreams, if not waking imaginations, muſt needs differ from ours; as I can inſtance from a repeated experiment of my own, who, encouraged through the former mentioned *Frenchmen*'s confidence, did eat at Supper a conſiderable quantity of the Green Wood-ſpite, with the long Tongue; after which I found my Sleep taken up with uncouth, and (as I then apprehended) no impertinent Fancies, the cauſe I made a ſecond Experiment with the like Succeſs: From whence may be deduced, that if our nouriſhment, or any outward or inward Application or Digeſtion, may be force to inſpire Sleep with various Dreams, which remembred waking, ſeem not unworthy our own moſt ſerious Meditations, no leſs than the attention of others more wiſe; Man alone, that hath extended his Food over all things eatable, cannot but participate of every Effect they are either in groſs or reſpectively liable unto, and ſo capable of a more dif-

fuſive Knowledge than the Creatures, not able to digeſt that variety Cuſtom hath rendred the Stomachs of Men Familiar withal; theirs being commonly of one Temper, and without mixture, ours hot and cold, dry and moiſt, bordering upon the next Confines of Poiſon, and not ſeldom a Compoſition of all Contrarieties together. Now if our Bodies (as Dr. *Brown* no leſs wittily than truly ſaith) "are "in a ſmall revolution of time licked from our "Trenchers, why may not what we eat work as effectually upon our Spirits as Fleſh and as well waking as aſleep?

Upon the firſt view of *Cornelius Agrippa*'s Vanity of Sciences, I did applaud his diligence, in becoming ſo verſed in every Profeſſion, no leſs than his reſolute detection of their Abuſes; by which he confirms me in the Opinion, that what we eſteem Wiſdom, is of no more ſignal advantage (as I have often ſaid) than what is deducible out of the Weakneſs of others; yet, upon inſpection into the Bottom of his reprehenſions, I find the World is held up, and kept in plight, merely by cheating; ſo as thoſe Trades he hath reduced under a numeration are not only guilty, but himſelf, and all ſuch as make it their Paſtime, if not their buſineſs, to be ſceptical in what is generally looked upon as certain, and to fiſh for more probable Truths in the Depths of Nature, where nothing is found pure without mixture, (if we may not with reverence ſay Sophiſtication) to her very products of Life and Death, ſince that one would be as far to ſeek of any content in the abſence of Hope, as the other of Bitterneſs out of the preſence of Fear. Now ſince the Mother of all things uſeth ſuch ſlights to flatter her Children into the act of Generation, for her own ſake of continuance, and for the ſame hath repreſented Death in the moſt odious aſpect, to terrifie us out of the deſire of the Grave, (which though oppoſite to her preſent intention, cannot but be as neceſſary to a future, and that which Religion teacheth is only capable to make us in the leaſt meaſure

measure happy,) how should her Creature Man produce more useful, or gather more lasting Fruit than those of *Sodom*, that vanish upon the Offer of Fruition, since the most Beneficial Calling or Employment is uncapable of affording a more Honourable Salary than Industry can worm out of the wants of others? From whence we may safely affirm, that Sin is the chiefest Task-master, since the most are busied about what is Destructive, Superfluous, or uncertain; and to remove this from vulgar understandings, the best and readiest Chapman for all things adulterated in reference to Honour, Profit, and universal Good and Tranquility, the preservation of which hath diminished much of the natural Stock belonging to particulars, such ranting Terms as *Agrippa* mentions are stuffed into all Sciences, through which the most Familiar things are rendred unintelligible without a *Lexicon*; and in no other respect useful, than, like *gaudy Shells*, and Glistering Stones, to adorn the Fountain of Learning towards the gratification of their Eyes, who, led by the Ocean of Books that daily issue out, come to visit them like the Heads of *Nilus*; though such Canting cannot be destructive to nearer Relations, by which every Profession is furnished with an opportunity of Deceit, to the end of the Chapter of Trade; the continuance of which, render the Buyer oftentimes farther to seek in the Knowledge of the Name, than the Thing; an inconvenience so visible, and Epidemical, as it could never have come under my Pen, had it continu'd within the Circle of Men obnoxious to the like fault, and not fallen so heavy upon Children, whose Misery, no less than loss of Time, I have not yet forgot, endured and spent upon forms little different from those of a Gally, to no more thriving an intention in reference to the Publick, than Apothecaries Paint and Adorn their Shops, which is to delude the ignorant, and hide from inspection such Arts as lie more in Parade than Substance; the occasion not only

of a greater expence of Years in this Limbo, to the loſs of the more uſeful viſion of Experience, but a ſmaller proficiency in Learning, ſuch being held ſo long viewing the Superſcription, as ſmall leiſure (if any deſire) is left to conſider the contents; nor doth the univerſality of this abuſe render it more tolerable than the multitude, as well as variety of Company than the pains of Hell, Learning running in this courſe ſo contrary to what ſhe profeſſes, which is to render Reaſon more plain, that ſhe brings, like *Eve*, a tattered Apron to cover it.

Though Chalk Stones may appear of too weak and ſoft a Temper to perfect a Fabrick, yet they become uſeful and neceſſary to mark and delineate the firſt Grounds for the greateſt and moſt exact Deſigns; ſo Idea's the Embroy's of Knowledge, are not ſeldom found in heads apter for Conception than Production, it being a Labour proper and peculiar to *Jupiter* alone to be at once delivered of ſo exact a *Minerva*, and ſo ſtrongly Armed as may be proof againſt Detraction and Emendation.

Yet rambling Wits ought (in my poor Judgment) to be indulged, becauſe by crumbling their Conjectures on all Subjects, they have in every Age farther enriched the World, than ſolider Underſtandings are known to have done; which may appear upon Tryal fitter for Nurſes than Mothers, whom in a ſhort time they teach their Children to forget, and call that by their own Names, never coſt them more pains than to Educate and Cloath ſuitably to the Apprehenſions of Men: A truth ſo manifeſt, that if all the Arts (nòt to mention the Altars) were forced to refund what hath been primitively borrowed from the Poets, they would (if not be naked) want many of their Richeſt Ornaments; and if we call to account who firſt did embelliſh our Language, we ſhall not find them amongſt the greateſt Clerks, but ſuch as were more con-

converſant with Men than Books; for though the firſt, like Phlegmatick Cattel, hanging their Noſes ſtill over their Tables, may appear more plump and voluminous, yet ſuch as with the Eagle ſurvey the World, cannot but be more active and exemplary.

Nature holds out proof againſt all conſtraint; for if violated in one Senſe, it is ſtill for gratification of ſome other Paſſion or affection, at the preſent more prevalent; Conies, Ferrets, *&c.* do not ſeldem devour their Young, but 'tis always for want of Water or Meat: Nor are Women (out of Fear and Shame of what Law hath rather forged than found in the Records of Nature) leſs cruel to their Children, when ſqueezed between the Bark of Reproach and the dreadful Tree of Deſtruction, they make them away.

For though Nature hath placed Mother and Child in a Relation next in Blood, ſhe hath removed them many Degrees off in that of Affection, ever moſt prevalent in reference to Themſelves, eſpecially when all hope determines as it doth here.

To conclude: Self-Murther (as we call it, though reckoned amongſt the higheſt reſults of Valour) being ſtill to avoid a preſent, or put to ſilence all expectation of Future Miſery, eſteemed more than Death, may no more than the reſt be contrary to the award of this univerſal Miſtreſs, whoſe higheſt intention is Well-being, no more than it is againſt Reaſon, of two Evils to make choice of the Leaſt.

No Element is found liable to a more general Diminution than it is Subject to an univerſal Exceſs; manifeſt in the Sea, that receives not any Augmentation from the greateſt Confluence of Land-Floods; The Reaſon is, That her Comings-in are Mathematically adjuſted to her Layings out, all poſſible Abatements in one place being re-imburs'd in another, by a continu-

al Bartering and Exchange; from whence, through a Natural Chymiſtry, ſo much is Commuted or Calcin'd as only makes good the Principal Stock, without encroachment upon Superfluity or Want.

Such as ſeek farther after their own Original, or are in Queſt of a remoter Cauſe than God, proſecute a no leſs impertinent Study, and from whence no more certain Solution can be expected, than Conjecture is able to return their Curioſity, who endeavour to find out what Mutations may ſucceed after Death hath determined their Speculation ſhall ceaſe; it being equally impoſſible to diſcover our firſt Production, as for a Child, without Direction, to know the Midwife that brought him into the World, or the preciſe part of it whereon he was born; wherefore out of the power of any thing but Omniſciency to extend a Pedigree beyond the Line of ordinary Generation; That related by *Moſes* pointing more to Obedience, and an exact Obſervation of the Sabbath (not till long after the Creation indulged through any reveal'd Practice) than the fomenting of Underſtanding not improperly alledged for the Diſcoverer, if not the Occaſion of Infelicity; Man remaining in a more entire Tranquility under a calm ignorance, than ſuch a turbulent and indeterminable Knowledge; which, like the Aprons it firſt produced, is patched up with ſo many Leaves of contrary Operations, Ends, and Applications, that under pretence of a Covering for our Shame, it doth daily reveal more Miſchief, and is, by reaſon of a Subtilty learn'd from the Serpent, able to conceal greater Malice, Sin, and Wickedneſs, (the Original of Infelicity,) than naked mankind had ever been capable of without it: So as no thanks remains due to it, but what may reſult from the Abbreviation of Life, it being an undeniable Truth. That the production of every Child is, if not an Advancer of the Monarchy of Reaſon in its own Perſon, the doubted Subject of others Deceit, and Oppreſſions; humane Wiſdom being of a little

little larger extent, than what it is able to purchaſe and find room for through an Encroachment and Advantage, made and taken of others Folly and Defects: And from this the whole World comes to be ſo univerſally Inhabited, every Family ſeeking reſt by Evaſion, it being as natural for Strife to abound where Want is, as for Strength to prevail: Wherefore Sin muſt needs be an Effect, if not of Eating, of Exceſs; through which man, out of Love for Himſelf, came to rob others; and to obviate the Differences could not but ariſe from Inequality in Strength, Appetites, and Deſires, Government was inſtituted, towards whoſe Favour all Laws, both Civil and Divine, are either taught, or do naturally encline: Yet if any in Curioſity deſire to make ſcrutiny into their own Original, I cannot but with *Solomon* ſend them to the Inſects for their farther Satisfaction, and perſwade them to be more ſtudious after the Cauſes of ſuch Animals as the Sun doth yearly create, or regenerate, and to enquire whether Matter may not be ſo prepared and adapted by us, as it ſhall be capable of Animation, through a propenſity to that regular and even proportion of Weight and Meaſure, naturally required by the firſt Agents of Life. Nor can any cauſe of Diſcouragement be well apprehended in the Proſecution of Life's Original, through a more curious Inſpection into the Production of Inſects, which once perfectly ſurvey'd and found out, cannot but open a Window towards the proſpect of our own beginning; ſince he that hath diſcovered the Spring by which a ſmall Watch is enlivened, not to be denied the neater workmanſhip, cannot in reaſon be far to ſeek what cauſeth and continues the Operations of a Church-Clock; their Motions being one and the ſame, no leſs than their Engines, though bound up in a ſmaller Volume, and ſupported by more Legs and Feet. Nor are there found above one or two conſiderable Obſtructions lying in the way of this endeavour, and thoſe no farther binding than a Commiſſion received

ceived from Cuſtom hath power to oblige. Of which the Firſt is an implicite and blind adhering to the Votes and Precedents derived to us from Antiquity, not conſidering, there may not unpoſſibly lie as vaſt a World of Truth beyond this rotten Bar, as Experience hath ſhewn us of Land and Nations, which never fell within the Compaſs of the Old Maps, or theſe Writers Cognizance: And as this renders the farther Endeavour after knowledge a loſt labour in the Conceit of Dunces, ſo our Torrify'd-Brain'd Zealots, through as great a Miſtake in Scripture, apprehend it as Damnable; yet the Reaſon of the firſt, no leſs than the Conſciences of the latter, might receive ſatisfaction from Dr. *Hackwel*'s Apology, were they capable of it. To which may be added, That ſince many Words and Actions recited of the Patriarchs, do in all Judgments deviate from the exacter Lines of Morality, (the principal, if not the only End of their Manifeſtation,) What Caution can be given, or Aſſurance taken, for their Infallibility in Philoſophy? the inculcation of which was never intended what is found ſaid in Relation to it, rather accommodated to the vulgar Opinion, than any imperative Truth. From whence may be gathered, That *Joſhua's Bidding the Sun ſtand ſtill*, is no more Argument for the Motion of it, than *Jacob*'s deluding his Brother may be pleaded in the Juſtification of Mine: Wherefore he that, out of a venerable Eſteem of the Sacred Text, gives Credit to a Prolongation of the Day, and ſo a full performance of all the Ends and Purpoſes for which the requeſt was made, it matters not in relation to Faith, whether it reſulted from the Sun's or the Earth's Motion; *Joſhua* being the General of an Army, not a profeſſed Philoſopher, ſo no leſs uncapable of a Miſtake in the Mathematicks, than *Elijah* was in the Calculation of God's Servants, whom he ſummed up in his peculiar Perſon, till his Arithmetick was better regulated by the Eſſence of Number, *&c.* Nor did our Saviour diſcountenance this

this Opinion, when he, according to the uſual Mode of the Place, did lift up his Eyes towards Heaven, tho' he did know, and teach us, That the Father was not only reſident in Himſelf, but together with all Things in and under the Earth. As for other Rubs lying in the Way of a farther Inquiſition after Knowledge, (all being readier to caſt Reproach and Ink in the Face of a Projector, than to aſſiſt for the preſent, or help in the Future, unleſs after Death,) to Improve to the beſt Advantage what perhaps he has not ſtrength alone to produce, I look upon them in Some as a Deſign to guard their Callings from Inſpection, and in Others as an Obſtinate Ignorance, engendred out of Shame to confeſs Themſelves no leſs than their Teachers, to have for ſo many Ages been Promoters of, and ſatisfied with, what now doth plainly appear to be mere Figments, *&c.*

Fancy is the Mold and Pencil that ſhapes the Form, and caſts the Colour upon Man and Beaſt, according to the Pattern preſented to it by the Senſes, though it may be look'd upon in the Schools, under an Inferiour Notion, where the Cuſtom is to be moſt Fruitful in Terms when they are moſt Barren of Underſtanding, tying Knot upon Knot, when ſhe finds her Nails too ſhort for the unravelling of the firſt; eſpecially upon his Endeavours to enlarge the excellencies of Man (whom in a high Rant ſhe ſtyles a little World) above his Fellow-Creatures; and to make this good, places in one part of his Head a receptacle for Memory, and others for Invention, Reaſon, *&c.* beſides a Number of Manſions more, ſituated in the Heart, for Vertues, Paſſions, and Affections; though upon a ſtrict Scrutiny, the ſame Goods may be found in the Beaſt, and far more uſeful, and leſs Contaminated through a greaſie-Diet, and exorbitant Purſuit after Pleaſure, by which Men become worſe than Beaſts, gratifying their Taſte at the Prejudice of all the reſt of the Senſes, the Natural Guards of Safety, yet manifeſt a-

mongſt the more temperate Indians, reported (like our Engliſh Crows) to ſmell Gunpowder at a great diſtance, gaining nothing by the Change but an Imperfect Reaſon, which, with that Inchanted Horn blown by the *Satyr*, doth terrifie more than confirm, or reſolve, ſuch as own and make uſe of it: Yet we paſs over in the Creature greater and more certain Advantages, without Notice or under Contempt, forgetting, that if we allow them Fancy, which like a Looking-Glaſs doth not only retain the outward Figures Senſe preſents us with, but doth reverberate thoſe Cenſures upon it, as are obſerved to perplex or quiet the Paſſions in both. What huge Advantage is left Man to boaſt of, more than that it may be bettet ſituated, or is of a greater Circumference in Us than Them, growing, like the Cryſtalline Humour in the Eyes, quicker from a Variation of Objects? And hence cannot be denyed to reſult all the Wiſdom diſcernible in both, with which, by reaſon of Diſcourſe, we are able to make the louder Noiſe, though they are not found quite ſilent, and no leſs ready than able, in caſe of Danger, to adviſe one the other, as every Fowler can upon his Knowledge atteſt. Yet the whole Extent of both our Capacities lies in no larger a Circle, than that of others Follies; only in things not yet fallen within the compaſs of Experience, and in relation to Prognoſtication, or Prediction, the Creature hath the Preheminence, out of a more accurate Vivacity in Senſe.

The World labours of a double Quartane, wherein the number of good days (if any be) are far exceeded by the bad; the Serenity of the Spring being overvoted through the ſcorching Heat in Summer, and the Cold in Winter; beſides the interruptions met with ariſing from her own private Diſtempers. The ſame diſmal Fatality attends Youth and Age, in which Sickneſs, and other Calamities, ſuitable to both Seaſons, cauſeth in all not only a Neceſſity, but in ſome a Deſire to put themſelves upon the Tryal of Death, and

return

return again into the Lap of that Earth, to and from whence all things do in a certain Viciſſitude go, and come; which may authoriſe a Belief, ‘ *That all things* ‘ *were not created for their Own ſakes, but the mere Inte-* ‘ *reſt of Nature, which abhors to be Idle, or to leave any im-* ‘ *pregnant Condition.* And from hence may ariſe another Conjecture, that the Moon, no leſs than the Stars, may be as well repleniſhed with Inhabitants as the Earth, and ſubject to the ſame Changes, in relation to what it produceth, though ſtable and ſo long permanent it ſelf, as God in his eternal Decree hath determined they ſhall remain, being ſubject to Diſſolution, but from the Force of that Command did at firſt eſtabliſh them, together with all things extant. Among which, though ſome are obſerved to wear out and Periſh, they are as it were but the external Ornaments and Houſhold-ſtuff, which, within a ſhort Revolution of Time, do receive a freſh Renovation from the Sun, the higheſt and moſt ſplendid reſult of God's Beatuy our Mortal Eyes (unſupported by Faith) are able to diſcern.

Which may afford cauſe of Pity for ſome of the Heathen that made it the Object of their Worſhip, who, finding it the Cauſe of ſuch viſible Reſurrections preſumed it might be the Original of all Things, imagining the Power of Continuance and Preſervation equal to that of Creation, not being able to ſee higher, for want of the Light of the Word of God.

It may be no improbable *Paradox*, That where the Earth's magnetical Effects ceaſe, there ſome other no leſs active Power begins to operate with a like Motion another way: Which granted, it can be no prodigious Conjecture, That ſuch Birds as are obſerved to Inn or Board in this Clime only for ſome certain Months, maintain a like temporary Commerce with other Planets, as they are found to do amongſt us, according to the reſpective *Advantages* Nature hath taught

taught them to make of Times and Seaſons. And that their paſſage is without much Difficulty, may be aſſerted from the punctual Days they keep yearly to come and go in, not poſſibly to be obſerved, were they obnoxious to any Obſtruction from Wind and Weather, or the leaſt other Contingency lying in their Road; which the revolution of a ſhorter Space than Men are found to live, could not chuſe but diſcover. And that the Place they come from relates to the Earth admits the moſt probable Tryal from us, which being an Iſland may beſt obſerve whether they do appear firſt by the Sea ſide or in the *Mid-land*; and if the latter, (as I have heard it often affirmed the Cuckow is univerſally ſeen the Second of *April*,) the Aſſertion may be allowed in reaſon the Sentence of Probability, if not of an unqueſtionable Truth. That Woodcocks are ſome Years in great plenty by the Shore in *Norfolk*, cannot be denyed; but yet it is as manifeſt, That at the ſame time their Appearance is as numerous in the moſt In-Land Countries. Nor is it neceſſary that they ſhould all deſcend in a Line, though Thouſands of *Feldefers*, and *Thruſhes*, have been ſeen within the Compaſs of a Mile, and none round about. Nor doth Weariſomneſs appear about any but ſuch as come off from the Sea, (which may not unpoſſibly have miſtaken their Way,) or any Signs of a new Reſurrection, their Plumage being ſmooth, and Bodies Plump; ſo that I my ſelf have ſeen both Swallows, and Hobbies, build and tread upon their firſt appearance, as if they had no other buſineſs in this World than to lie in, and produce their Young; as Fiſhes are noted to change their Coaſt upon the like Errand, *&c.*

I believe it poſſible for Birds, not of the ſame Kind and Plume, to engender with Succeſs to an huge embelliſhing of Nature, and as great an Improvement of her ſtore. And this was by ſome Acquaintance of mine put under Experiment before theſe Wars, that had large Cages of Wyre, wherein were put together only Hens of ſome ſorts, and Cocks of another. How it did anſwer

Expecta-

Expectation I know not, yet am confident it might ſucceed, eſpecially in reference to thoſe nouriſhed through a like Suſtenance, ſince my ſelf ſaw an Hawk owned the Plume and Shape between a Hobby and a Taſſel-Gentle. Nor is it contrary to the Grain of Probability to endeavour a Breed betwixt Hares and Coneys, an Ordinary Cat and a Civet; the Head of which ſpecies is, by the reſemblance of the muſcles, no leſs than all ſigns and geſtures of the Lyon, and between whom there remains leſs Difference in proportion than an *Iriſh* Grey-Hound compared with a Lap-Dog; Animals no leſs than Plants receiving notorious changes from the Climates out of which they were at firſt tranſported, proving for the moſt part largeſt towards the Sun. Nor is it doubted but a Dog-Fox and an Ordinary Bitch will generate, as I heard the laſt Marquiſs of *Hamilton's* Father verifie he ſaw in *Scotland*. Nor did thoſe Huge and Strange-Headed Deer, ſent for Preſents to King *James*, fail to Cohabit with ours and have young. Now he that would obſerve the Affinity in the Food and Bigneſs of Beaſts and Birds, and put none but them together, I doubt not but in the Abſence of their own kind they might eaſily be drawn to joyn.

One Day ruminating upon Pride, and the Diſmal Effects it draws upon Mankind, I had all the Poſtures and Evidences brought in againſt thoſe Arraigned for this Diabolical Paſſion acted before me by a *Turkey*-Cock, who ſtood priding himſelf no leſs in the Sun and Proſperities of the Spring than *Nebuchadnezzar* did on the Battlements of his Palace; from whence I began to conclude it natural, and ſo not radically evil, no more than Anger or Love: Therefore under the Notion of an Enquiry into the Advantages God hath given us above others, a perfect Knowledge of our own good Parts is ſo far Remote from Pride, that it is rather a Spur to Vertue, and ſo only depraved not invented by the Devil, who with all his Chymiſtry is not able to convert the ſeeds of a Natural Effect into the Root of Evil, though he hath perverted this, as many things elſe, into Malignity againſt God; the leaſt of whoſe Beauty is ſufficient to advance our Thought above our ſelves, in which Caſe it is rather a Rapture, than a Sin.

Characters

Characters & Letters, &c.

A Character of *Honour*.

HOnour is one of the Grand Impoſtures of the Earth, through whoſe falſe Splendour unadviſed Ambition is, as it were, trapan'd out of its Life, Liberty, *&c.* no Folly tranſcending their eſteem themſelves only happy in a vain Title, or Syllable, at the beginning pronounced by the Prince, and after reverberated by the meagre, empty, and hollow Eccho of the inſignificant Rabble; no leſs ready, upon the Change of Fortune, to Murther than Father all Marks of Deſert, to thoſe very particular ones their own Indulgence had informed: Opinion being for the moſt part Printed in ſuch Blind Ink, as it hardly remains legible to the Second Generation. The Merit of the firſt Proprietor becoming mortified by Oblivion, or quite diſſipated, and loſt in the Wilder Fields of a no leſs numerous, than vitious Poſterity; ſo remote from improving any Talents left them by their Anceſtors, as, like the improvident Uſurer in the Goſpel, they do not only expoſe them to Ruſt, and Cankers, but waſte the Eſtate, with all other glorious Endowments in which they were wrapped.

The Promoter of their Family becoming by this means an Occaſion of the Ruin of it, it lying in the Nature, no leſs than the Cuſtom of Honour, to put as unreaſonable an Exciſe on the Vices as the Vertues of its Owners. I never thought it Prudence, or Diſcretion, to articulate over-ſeverely on the worſt of Modes I have had the

the good or ill Fortune to be born and bred under; yet ſeems to croſs the Grain of Wiſdom, if not of candid Charity, to *arraign as guilty of Abſurdity*, all we find in ordinary Practice abroad, though on the other ſide the Pale of Chriſtianity; and for a particular inſtance, that uſed amongſt the *Turks*, where no Title but what belongs to the Emperor is made Hereditary. '*Honour* '*being hardly managable within the Compaſs of Decency*, '*by any are not perfect in the Steps that lead to it*; ſplendid Epithets, where there reſides no real Ability in the Party to deſerve them, cheating the Beholders by an Expectation of more Vertue, and the Poſſeſſor with leſs, than his Paraſities (a Vermine Capital Fortunes are infeſted withall) may have poſſibly inſinuated into his formerly ſuborned imagination. But to deſcend to a more exact Definition of Honour: It is a mere Ray or Beam darted from the Favour of a Prince, who in one Body contains the Abſtract of all Delated Dignities; and the Reward of every Deſert is either real, or by him ſuppoſed, in the Nature or Actions of thoſe he thinks fit to advance; amongſt which none are more Glorious than they in *Turky*, where Worth is always found the Antecedent to every Reward; thoſe in Chriſtendom, that relate wholly to the Paſſions and Affections of the Donor, not appearing ſo Natural, but farther remote from the purer and unſophiſticated Elements of Majeſty, than what is found inherent in the Party; the true Cauſe of advancement among us being commonly ſo trivial, and foul, as for ſhame they forbore to recite it in their Patent: From whence ſome may conclude, thoſe Diſparities amongſt Men proceeded at firſt, like Hills and Dales, from the Deluge of Pride, ſo long a Succeſſion of Government hath poured upon the Face of the Earth; Courts by ſuch Canting Terms advancing their particular Intereſt, which would be abated, were the Devourers in an equal Parallel with thoſe they feed on: The Rabble, for want of a more elated Prudence, imagining their Governors to proceed, like the Giants of old

old, from ſome Diviner Extraction than their own; not wiſe enough to apprehend, That Honour hath no advantage really in it ſelf, but what it is able to deduce from the lower Condition, and baſeneſs of others; All Titles to thoſe relating to God himſelf, as they were abſent, before the Creation, ſo Reaſon informs us, they could not preſent now, were there no Creatures endued with ſo much underſtanding, as to be able to pronounce them, the moſt relucent Honour being Offuſcated, and Blinded in the Shades of Solitude: Wherefore if it had a Name, it wanted an Owner, till ſomething was made willing to promote it; no Age ever repreſented it more naked to the World than this we live in: Where as the *Jews* do in *Italy*, by the Antient *Roman* Coins, ſo the Grave Viſages of 25 Biſhops have been ſtruck off, and put upon many Thouſand Presbyterians; whereupon the Image and Superſcription of the Primitive Church is quite defaced, and obliterated, through the Impreſs they are exchanged for; which owns no worth, but from the Gravity of the firſt, being it ſelf of the greater Antiquity than *John Calvin*, who did not but with ſome difficulty, as Boys do Giggs, whip this younger Government out of a Word, taught for many Ages to ſignifie the Epiſcopacy only, making it current in *Geneva*. Now if it be no leſs frequent in the Practice of Men than in the Dialect of the Scriptures, to rob God of his Honour why ſhould any, but merely Mortal, place Stability in it; eſpecially ſince the Traſh theſe Earthly Tumours ſwell withall, is by the baſeſt of, *&c.* render'd ſo pernicious.

Valour and *Cowardize*.

I Should much wonder how Valour and Cowardize, both ſtrangers, if not contrary to the Practice of undiſtracted Nature, could paſs ſo long without the Errata in the Place-Book of Vertue and Vice; but that

I find it the Deſign of Policy to advance or abate the Credit of all things found uſeful or deſtructive to her own, or the General Utility; and, where ſhe can bring in the leaſt Colour for it to paint, what is neceſſary to Commerce, with the greateſt Approbation of Religion; and to render the contrary in the dark Senſe, and black Characters of Hell, allowing all Supports as decent, and quadrating with the Beauty of Holineſs, though above or againſt the Lights of Reaſon, if found any way requiſite to ſuſtain Government. Of ſuch force is Cuſtom, that it is able, through the Aſſiſtance of Credulity, to ſtifle and trample upon the Senſes themſelves.

Now though it may be no Indiſcretion in a Patient to ſuffer himſelf, for his Recovery, to be deluded by his Phyſician, yet out of a Panick Fear, or effeminate Nicety, to ſwallow more Drugs, and in greater Quantities than is unavoidably neceſſary, may appear a Madneſs, ariſing from the more dreadful than dangerous Phantaſms muſtered up by the Fumes of a formerly-ſuborned Melancholy, rather than the ſubſtantial Dictates of an unſophiſticated Judgment, which a Wiſe man may retain, and feaſt himſelf with, though for Manners ſake, and to avoid the Danger no leſs than Shame, impending Singularity, he may ſeem to own the moſt univerſal Opinion.

Now to ſhew how Policy, no leſs than Religion, impoſeth upon frail Humanity, in both the formentioned particulars, (though to the apprehenſion of Senſe, abſolutely repugnant one to the other) they are ſituated as near Damnation, that appear over-daring in the proſecution of private Revenge, as ſuch who out of Remiſneſs and Fear betray the Cauſe of their Country; in defence of which is placed, under all Profeſſions extant, the Higheſt ſtep of our Duty to God and our Neighbour. Which cannot be denied to ſtand farther remote in Nature, than what really Concerns our ſelves, found recorded in *Job* by the Devil, a far Antien-

tienter Philoſopher than the ſo much venerated *Ariſtotle*; from whence we may conclude, "*That Reſolution* "*and Dread inſtituted by Nature at firſt for the vindica-* "*tion and ſafety of every reſpective individual, are, ſince* "*Tyranny and Propriety have forced us into Commonalties,* "*reduced by common Conſent of Law, and Conveniency,* "*into a publick ſtock, for the Preſervation of all; ſo as* "*we are ſuffered to own no more in reference to our ſelves,* "*than Prudence is able to filch out of the Treaſury of the* "*State*, and that upon no ſlighter a Penalty, than Law doth inflict; which found too dimſighted to penetrate farther than external Evidence can reach Religion, whoſe Reſults (and thoſe no weak ones) lies in Conſcience, ſupplies the place of a Diviner Guard; brandiſhing, like the Angel in Paradiſe, the flaming ſword of Hell, which operates more or leſs upon the Affections proportional to the Tincture received from Education; not ſeldom Proof (as we find in Hereticks) againſt the Dictates of Reaſon herſelf, nothing being harder to be loſt, or convinced of Falſhood, than Opinions ſucked in with the Nurſe's Milk. And this may raiſe an Uſe of Caution, in relation to what we call Puſillanimity, and Valour, which in a natural and primitive ſenſe, ſignifie only Evaſion, and where that will not ſerve in order to our own Preſervation, a vigorous and ſtout Reſiſtence to the loſs of Life it ſelf, as is manifeſt in every Creature, in the abſence of hope; and therefore impoſſible to be found wanting in the pure and unſuborned Nature of Man; and ſo in the primitive Conſtruction uncapable of any foreigner Interpretation, than what is deducible from our Judgment, without reference to Fame or Reward, Terms unintelligible, during the Original Felicity, and before the Thirſt after Generation had ſwelled the World into ſuch an Ocean of Inhabitants, as could not be kept within the compaſs of Moderation, but by Mounds and Banks; in the making of which all things are employed that own the power to terrifie or flatter

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the Rabble into Obedience, without bearing any nicer reſpect, to ſingle Individuals, than through evading, or over-ruling the Law, Power, or Prudence, is able to purchaſe to themſelves, by maſtering, flattering or contemning publick Fame; after which it may be, ſometimes leſs policy to run, than not to be too greedy to give it welcome when it courts us, Opinion being a Bird oftener catcht by Chance than Endeavour; nor ſhall any one that carries her on his Fiſt ever want envy, or ſcratching, by others: And he that hath but the Patience to attend good or bad report to the end of the race, ſhall obſerve them like Cocks to change their Odds, one unlucky blow being able to depreſs more, and draw a greater concourſe of Abettours to the other ſide, than Twenty as ſtrong and probable Endeavours, without Succeſs, can poſſibly advance; or, if this fail, the Gameſters, together with what they ſtrove for, will by the hand of Time be laid in Oblivion: Whereas the real Wounds, and ſenſible Inconveniences, accruing from a too ſerious Attention, and exact obſervance of the various Cadences of the Trumpet of Fame, ſubject to be put out of Tune by the change of every Blaſt, do not only exceed the Cure of the Chirurgion, but all endeavours to that of Wiſdom it ſelf: Nor hath Policy any cheaper traſh to load the oppoſite Scale withal than Honour and Titles, which, like Horſe-Bells, only affect the Ear, as Diamonds do the Eyes, encreaſing rather than leſſening the Burthen of Life; which, with its Concomitants, Envy, Danger, and Jealouſie, ſignifies nothing, proportionable at leaſt, to what the Purchaſe requires, ſeldom enjoy'd of the Owner long without Controverſie, unleſs by dying in poſſeſſion he cuts off all contrary Claims: Wherefore ſuch as have the Dexterity to paſs their days at the leaſt Expence of Trouble and Conveniency, may be truly ſaid to husband Diſcretion beſt; nor are they likely to be miſ-led in ſuch a vaſt number of Fools and Madmen as are daily obſerv'd

to ſacrifice their own Eaſe and content to promote the Ambition and ſmall Plots of others, grounding their Hopes upon thoſe that have no Aſſurance themſelves. But this runs ſo contrary to the grain of Practice, as it may not unpoſſilby ſet ſuch Teeth on Edge as are able, through Detraction, or Power, to blaſt the Author of this Advice.

A Letter writ to diſſuade Mr.——from a Duel.

Sir,

I Shall at this time conceal what I apprehend of your Quarrel, and the Circumſtances that did at firſt produce it; leſt I ſhould fall into a Phyſician's indiſcretion, who coming to one labouring of a Fever, did conſume the time in telling the Patient, the Cauſes of his Diſtemper were Drink and evil Company; which, though poſſibly true, could not but carry the Figure of a meagre Impertinency, before the party had his Cure, ſince no place is now left for prevention: And as Phyſick is oppoſed to the Defects incident to bad Dyet, and Diſorder, ſo Counſel hath been obſerved to moderate and palliate, though not cure, thoſe of Indiſcretion, ariſing for the moſt part from an Inexperience in the exact knowledge of our own fame, no leſs than that of others: And where it may be, or is ſituated, with the ſmalleſt prejudice to Conſcience, or giving the leaſt interruption to the Proſpect of Self-preſervation, the firſt Reſult in the Intention of Nature, and left as of greateſt Intendment to the Care of Prudence. From whence I have been taught, that it is poſſible for Phyſick to be welcome, though diſtaſteful; but that Counſel ſeldom meets any more favourable Conſtruction than Scorn from the Receiver, and an Opinion of Preſumption in him that ventures to give it, eſpecially if

if it meets not with a candid Nature; which hoping to find in You, I ſhall ſo much tranſgreſs the voice of Diſcretion, as to ſuffer my ſelf in Love to become an Arbitrator between the Honour and prudence of a Friend, ſo far as to maintain, That ſuch as animate you to a formal Revenge, do, out of forgetfulneſs, or Want of Religion, forbear to calculate the Danger, no leſs than Impiety, that for ever cleaves to ſuch hands as are found once polluted in blood; and that thoſe violate the Dictates of Piety, and Diſcretion, (by Wiſdom eſteemed the moſt conſiderable part of Manhood) that contradict it; for, to uſe their own canting, (no where to be found in the Dialect of Antiquity) he hath given you an Affront, and ſuch an one as may not decently be paſſed by without a Formal ſatisfaction; which is but the ſingle and wild Opinion of ſome Under-graduates in the Arts of Living; yet admit it a Debt due in the Court of Honour, may it not as well be diſcharged by your friend or ſervant, as your ſelf, Parties leſs agitated by Intereſt and Paſſion, and therefore the likelier to deal a Revenge ſo evenly, as he ſhall have as little cauſe to brag as you to repent? A thing you can never promiſe your ſelf, if contrary to the Injunctions of God and the Examples of the moſt prudent People, you proportion out your Satisfaction in the Field, where you cannot but deliver into the cuſtody of blind Fortune not only your Life but Eſtate, as juſtly belonging to poſterity, as ever your Anceſtours made it yours, which by this mad Knight-Errantry you hazard to undo. I am ſure all wiſe minds will quadrate with this; and if the Fools of the preſent Age, pretend to any Diſcoveries of Ways to Honour, new and untrod by the Ancients, let 'em follow them to the fartheſt Extent of their Lives or Lunacy, Whilſt you hearken to the graver Advice of reaſon, which may inform you. He hath offer'd an Abuſe already, and will you hazard upon equal Terms the receiving a greater? Indeed if a Requital had been endeavoured at the Inſtant, it might have rendred you more excu-

ſable before God and Man; but that opportunity omitted, it were more wrong to your Charity, than Vindication of Valour in cold Blood to call back Revenge; as if a worſe Chriſtian upon Meditation, than when irritated by Fury and Paſſion. Neither is Honour to be purchaſed in ſingle and ſelf-perſuading Combats, becauſe no Marks of them appear in Antiquity, where many are found Dead, but not one, to my remembrance, upon ſo impertinent a Quarrel as Words: Yet we may conclude from the foul Expreſſions in Oratours, That the Mouths of the Gentry were then none of the cleaneſt: He that conſults former Hiſtories may find, That ſome have gained more repute from a Retreat, than thers could obtain by a won Field; and what is a Retreat I pray you, but a fine Word for Running away? Fierceneſs being proper to Beaſts, whereas a neat Evaſion belongs peculiarly to Men. Of which I ſhall inſtance this, as now freſh in my Memory: A Gentleman lying, like you, under the repute of an Injury, did meet his Enemy, and ſhot him with a Piſtol ſtopped full of Dung, whereupon he cryed *He was Slain*, which ſet him farther back in the Opinion of the World, than his former Vapouring had advanced him, when the Excrement the Dagg was laden with appeared to the Senſes of the ſtanders by: And for this the Wit of its Deviſor was highly commended. Another return'd this Anſwer, with a like Succeſs, to a younger Brother's Challenge: That if he could prove his loſs as great as His, ſhould he kill or be killed, he would gladly accept it; otherwiſe he did not think it reaſon to venture his Life againſt one did want Neceſſaries, and ſo might ſeek Death, no leſs out of Diſcontent than Gallantry, which himſelf, that wanted nothing, had no cauſe to do. All that remains is but your Pardon for this Boldneſs, which I moſt ſeriouſly deſire, remaining in the mean time, no leſs your faithful Friend, and,

Sir,

Your, &c.

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A Letter to Mr.——in hope to diſſuade Him from going a Colonel under Count Mansfield.

Sir,

I Cannot but own it for a high Preſumption, to offer ſudden and crude Conceptions in a buſineſs where I preſume you have employed, not only your own, but the moſt ſerious Advice of your Friends; to the Abilities and Dignity of whom, though I am forced to give place, I may not juſtly be accounted behind them in affection to your ſelf, or affairs: Wherefore having received ſo great an encouragement from your Commands, no leſs than Stimulation from my particular Deſire to ſerve you, I ſhall, according to my ſmall Experience, and the meaner Abilities I have found in me, employ it to the beſt Labour, to inform you. Theſe corrupt Times have rendred many things neceſſary to the *German* Wars, are no ways ſuitable to your Complexion, or Fortune, which your General, being a Stranger, cannot in probability advance, without offending his own, and Sinning againſt an Article of Policy and Nature; nor ſhall you, though Laden with the higheſt Merit, render your Return more grateful to your natural Prince, King *James* having always numbred Soldiers amongſt thoſe he eſteems the worſt of Men, and moſt formidable to his Perſon, the Expedition being by Him rather connived at, than approved, out of Hope by this means to facilitate the two Treaties of a Match with *Spain*, and the Reſtitution of the Palatinate; which obtained, (according to the Mode of *Puſilanimous* Princes,) all endeavours will be uſed to diſcharge the State of You and Your Companions, as a Society moſt ſuperfluous during Peace; the only Thing our King doth ſtudy to promote; to whoſe Ears a Drum is more terrible than Thunder, and the Report of a Cannon, than the Voice of God himſelf, which (if our Churchmen may be credited) doth at

this Day cry for Vengeance againſt the Cruelty Exerciſed upon Chriſtians, eſpecially from *England*, by an unanimous Conſent choſen the Head of the *Proteſtant* League, till His Majeſty had Forfeited that Honour to the briſker Aſſiſtance given by the *French*. Now can you think he ſhould indulge Valour as a Vertue in another, when nothing is more manifeſt, than that he labours to expunge all Marks or Occaſions for it in himſelf, or any about Him, ſo far as to anſwer my L—— when he came from the Wars, and deſired to kiſs his Hand, That he feared he would bite it, and therefore bad he ſhould be muffled; Nor is it our King's mode alone, (that never made uſe of Soldiers unleſs to Slight them,) but that of *Spain*, under whom the moſt deſerving have dyed in Diſgrace, if not by Poiſon; and amongſt the Catalogue of thoſe ſtand written with great Characters in the Calender of Fame, few or none are Regiſtred for Saints, or happy; it being paſt Controverſy, That no War can be called Juſt bears not a real Tincture of Defenſative, and whoſoever hath, or ſhall have enterprized the contrary, though his Name be never ſo richly enamelled on the Ring of Fortune, and Himſelf placed at the Top of her Wheel, yet he is but the Scourge of God, and doth for the moſt part fall when he thinks himſelf moſt capable of ſtanding, like *Charles* the 5th. that was by the Duke of *Saxony* (a Family of his own raiſing) beaten over the Alps by Torch-light, and himſelf, like the Sword of *Goliah*, wound up into a High Contempt of this World, and laid in a Monaſtery. The Sins and Over-ſights of God's Children are ſeverely puniſhed; but it is as true, that nothing coſts dearer than the Blood of his Saints, as may appear by ſuch Horſe-Leeches, as have been applied to his Church; from whence a double quantity hath been drawn by ſome unexpected means: But if theſe Reaſons ſavour too much of *Theology*, conſider how unpoſſible it is to do any thing without the Love of the Common Soldier abroad, and how unſafe he muſt needs be at home that enjoys it; there being nothing

nothing more uſual with Princes than to be jealous of their Liberatours; manifeſt in *Byron*, who after he had ſet the Crown upon *Henry* the IVth's Head, loſt his own, out of a no more Pious reaſon than that upon a contrary provocation he might have removed it to another. And to ſhew of what vile eſteem Soldiers are in the days of Peace, I will not ſay (though I have heard it) that the Judges, after the *Iriſh* Wars, were given it in Charge, yet can aſſure you they hanged Soldiers for faults which others (thought of more uſe in Peace) did ſcape, or obtained Pardon for. If ſo unhappy as to receive a Wound in your Perſon or Credit, it remains your's without the leaſt diminution, if Honour, Cuſtom ſhares it between your Country and he that Commands in chief; who, being a Foreigner, is not unlikely to rob you of your due; or, by employing you on deſperate ſervice, to conclude Fame and your Life together. I know your Reſolution is too well lined by Philoſophy againſt the Storms of Danger, to admit a parley with any Force but that of Reaſon, wherefore I forbear to paint them, leſt I ſhould ſeem to ſcare you with fears are for many Years left to be terrible to my ſelf, who have long ſince thought it ridiculous, to Court ſleep by Opiums, and protract Death by Cordials; which is but the Head of the ſame Species, being the effect of an unavoidable Laſſitude; yet though Life is impoſed upon Mortals without, if not againſt their Conſent, it cannot be denied the ſtrongeſt reſult of the higheſt Wiſdom, to ſituate your ſelf ſo, as it may conſume at the moſt eaſe and with the leaſt Perturbation, which is not to be expected from ſuch a Flaring and intemperate a Courſe, as that of a Soldier that can make choice of no Friend, or Enemy, but what the State aſſigns him; or proportion his Pity, or Juſtice, to his own Morality, but their Ambition and Jealouſie that Command in chief, to whom in all things you are bound to obey, though contrary to the grain of Prudence it ſelf; that arbitrary Government you ſo much complain of at Home, being the beſt you can in reaſon

expect to find in an Army abroad, where the ſtreſs of Diſcipline lies more upon the Adminiſtration of Severity than Juſtice. Such as are reported to liſt themſelves under the Black Prince of Darkneſs, draw Articles before they conſign their Blood, and have a Circle enchanted, with a Power to protect them; whereas a Soldier hath nothing to plead for againſt actual Obedience, but the narrow Circumference of Protection, that lies in the will of a General, to whom the Vertue and Valour of his Officers is no leſs formidable, in relation to his particular Jealouſies, than the Vices and Cowardice of his meaner Soldiers are thought pernicious to Succeſs in the Field: Wherefore no Prince deſerves ſuch Honourable Attendance, as thoſe that head their Armies themſelves, *Generaliſſimo*'s, like Step-Fathers, carrying to others Natural Affection, but for the Advancement of their own Glory; ſo as they eſteem all inferior Merit as an Intruſion upon Theirs; it being ordinary with Cuſtom to award Fame to ſuch as have leaſt deſerved it, and aſperſe with Infamy thoſe of more Glorious Merit. I confeſs Neceſſity cannot only abate the Edge of theſe Reaſons, but turn their points againſt the Urger; yet ſince it is not impoſſible but that the Elector may have miſcarried in his Allegiance towards the Emperor, it cannot be indiſcreet, or impertinent, to mind you of the Hazard and ſmall Reward they commonly are capable of, that render themſelves Arbitratours of a Foreign difference; I do comply with you in all the Pity, Prayers, and Contributions, can be offered for the Reſtitution of the Vertuous Lady *Elizabeth*, yet ſhall reſerve my Perſon to beſtow upon the Preſervation of my Country, in the quarrel of which, I can only juſtifie the ſpilling of my own Blood, or that of others; the univerſal employment of a Soldier not being yet legally made out to me by any Injunction, either Moral, or Divine; the Practice of the *Switzers* in relation to foreign Quarrels appearing as remote from Chriſtian Charity, as Na-

Natural Prudence. It cannot be denyed but that Soldiers are neceſſary during the diſtracted times of Invaſion, ſo it is as true, that few Callings are looked upon with more Diſdain, when a Nation enjoys an abſolute Tranquility: Wherefore it can be no Act of Diſcretion, to enroll your ſelf under a Profeſſion only in eſteem during the worſer Ages, and not the beſt; wherein maims are conſidered rather as marks of an inconſiderate and brutiſh Valour, than a temperate and adviſed Prudence. Were you thrown upon it by the Iron Horns of an unavoidable Compulſion, or flattered into it out of a more than probable Aſſurance of an Honourable Advantage, ſomething might be objected to the Prayers of your Friends, and contrary Deſires of your Enemies, who may not unpoſſibly tempt you into this uncertain Hope, out of a Deſign to rob you of all you really enjoy,

Conſider your Education, how much a Stranger it hath been to the incommodious Treatment the Field doth afford, out of whoſe Verge it is more decent, and ſafe, ſtill to preſerve your ſelf, than at any time to retire, though upon the higheſt Provocation, of whoſe legitimacy your Enemies, from whom you part, will be the Arbitrators, and not your Friends, to whom you return; War being a turbulent and deſtructive Calling, with more Credit and Safety always neglected, than at any time forſaken; he that never fought receiving a fairer Encomium from Charity, than a Captain that hath deſerted his Poſt: Nor doth a Colonel ſtand for more than a ſingle Wheel in the Frame of an Army, where the General remains Heir to all Deſert. —The reſt is loſt.

A Letter to Mr. W. P.

THe continuance of your Acquaintance is the higheſt Pinnical of my Ambition, and from whence I am not only tempted, but do willingly ſubmit to the loweſt of your Commands; in the purſuance of which I came on purpoſe, to meet you at *B*—— laden with the ſtrongeſt Advice ſo weak a Judgment is able to Man out; but I find your own Wiſdom hath given me the opportunity to ſpare my *Engliſh*, by diſcovering to you, without the help of a Proſpective, or the dearer prejudice of a Tryal, what I found verified thro' many years Experience, *viz.* That Honourable Perſons, like too great Fires, may warm and comfort ſuch as are content only to ſerve them at a Diſtance, but blaſt the Parts, and conſume the Fortunes of thoſe are found to attend them in any nearer Relations, who gain, for the moſt part like the Birds that follow the Crocodile, no Richer Reward than the Reverſions of their Teeth; it being uſual with theſe Monſters in Nature, to eſteem none capable of Deſert, but ſuch as Fortune, or Baſeneſs, hath made neceſſary to their Vices, or Power; the firſt of which is as much below the Breeding, as the other is the Candour of a Gentleman, to whom it is incongruous to leave the Honour he was born to at the foot of that Ladder he hopes to aſcend by to a greater; neither have they that are inſtrumental to their Rapine a more noble employment than thoſe Beaſts reported of in the *Indies*, who hunt the prey for the Lion, and after by his Strength they are ſubdued, muſt reſt ſatisfied with what the Covetuouſneſs of their Maſter ſhall leave undevoured.

For my ſelf, as none can with Affection look upon the Gulph which hath ſwallowed up his Felicity, ſo I remain in ſo high a feud with Greatneſs, as if I did not find [*Lord*] in my Daily Prayers, I ſhould not name it (in Relation

Relation to Servant) without Deteſtation; the which Lord had I ſerved as I ought, the other would have been no more known to me than Leopards, Wolves, and Tygers, ſeldom, if ever, ſeen by us, but in Grates and Pictures: Yet how manifeſt ſoever this Truth is, I am not ſo fooliſh my ſelf, or think others ſo wiſe, as to eſteem any Precept, or Example ſtrong enough to reſtrain the unſupported Ignorance of young men from falling into this Trap, baited with more Eaſe, though far leſs Aſſurance, than Law, Phyſick, *&c.* For this courſe often neglected, in which Hundreds periſh for one that thrives, who is yet found to be more imperious than the Maſter himſelf, ſince the powerful Word of God aſſiſted by the Rhetorick of Divines, is not of Efficacy ſufficient to keep them from following Pride, Luſt and Drunkenneſs, though Hell be aſſigned for the Concluſion; But if you deſire a more full, and elegant proſecution of this Theme, I refer you to *Lucian*; having already exceeded my firſt intention, which was only to Kiſs your Hands, and in fewer words to aſſure you that I am,

Sir, *Your Servant.*

Another to the Same.

Sir,

HAd you not aſſur'd me you were not well, I ſhould eaſily have gueſſed it my ſelf, from the Commendation your Letter gave to mine; which cannot but be rather the effect of a Fever, than your Judgment: To which though I am ſo highly obliged for the preſent, as to gain a more honourable eſteem in your fancy, than without the like mediation I could poſſibly have attained, yet I do not only abhor this, but all Advantages elſe, that own the leaſt ſemblance of a Prejudice to you; ſo as I could not have been thus Roman-

mantick, but that the laſt Line prov'd a Cordial to the firſt, by expunging all fear of future Danger, in reſpect of your health. And for Prudence, I find it by the Elegancy of your ſtyle, and the ſolidity of matter, ſo far rather encreaſed, than diminiſhed, as I am confident your opinion is by this time alter'd in reference to my Deſert, though I am willing to flatter my ſelf, that your Love continues: But whether the Horſe follows the Chariot, or the Chariot the Horſe, Perſons of Parts are found to make ſo great a Deſcent, which ſubmit themſelves to this courſe of Servitude, that they waken the Admiration of Lookers-on much more than the apprehenſions of thoſe that, like me, have ſo apparently ſuffered in their particular Intereſts; it being impoſſible to imagine a greater Lunacy, than to caſt away Time, Freedom, and Fortune, after ſuch as ſo little regard it, that they eſteem it Reward ſufficient for the moſt of their Servants, if they have an opportunity to obſerve the Baſeneſs of their Natures; for what is gotten by them belongs rather to their own Impudence, or Importunity, than the Bounty or Goodneſs of their Maſters; ſince he that remains Defective in one of theſe two Court-vertues, ſhall be compell'd to make a third of pure Neceſſity. Let a Man conſume an Apprenticeſhip with a Citizen, at the end of the Time it is his own fault if he be not able to live; but when a Tradeſman (like one of his Majeſty's antick Statues) is taken out of a baſe Cellar, or Vault, (no Prodigy in our days,) and ſet up at Court, it is his leaſt care to provide for his Servants, unleſs neceſſary to his Vices, or the Infirmities that proceed from them; ſuch being able to tide him where they pleaſe; either over their Fellows, or Strangers, by way of Terrour, or Diſdain; or, curvet and prance with his Complements, in token of Reſpect, they reſembling for the moſt part Oranges, that yield nothing but upon ſqueezing. I confeſs, the Dependence on a Monſter of this kind may be of excel-

cellent uſe for Protection in theſe Fatal Times, where Innocency is found too weak for Deceit, could it be obtain'd without a greater Loſs; but, as in a Contract with the Devil, the firſt thing parted with is Hope of future felicity; ſo a Secretary muſt quit his Freedom, or Employment, being tyed to ſo ſtrict an Attendance, as his Lord is no more able to ſpare him than his own Brains, or Thumbs; by which the ſlavery becomes ſo great, as it can receive no Compenſation from Profit: Wherefore ſuch as are wiſeſt retain only the Acquaintance of Great men, whom I have obſerved to thrive better than their Menial Servants; it being uſual with them to beſtow benefits on thoſe that leaſt deſerve; and to him they have injured by denying a juſt Reward, it is their mode to become an Enemy, as I have found moſt certainly true, who am,

Sir,

Your Servant.

POST-SCRIPT.

I Have ſent you this to ſerve as a Black patch, or Foil, to ſet out the Beauty of your *Virgil*; and therein you may obſerve the ſtrength of Affection, which for your ſake is able to raiſe in me the Enthuſiaſms of a Poet; from whoſe Inſpiration this Oracle is pronounced:

THis Work is finiſh'd ſo, as no Supply,
Can be expected from Poſterity;
Nor could thy Author's Laurel *match thy Bays,*
Hadſt thou appear'd with him in Cæſar's *days:*
Yet he that this Tranſlation dares to ſlight,
Muſt not admire to ſee a Moor *waſh'd white,*
And charg'd to Engliſh Beauty; *loſing none*
Of what was Hers, but adding of his own.

If

If that our Northen Paint *be not ſo good,*
'Tis not thy Fault, *whoſe* Pencil *underſtood*
No leſs than any Roman's; *and this ſhall*
Struggle for Fame *with the* Original;
And waſte more Blood *and* Ink, *than in the ſtrife*
Between thoſe States who firſt gave Homer *Life,*
Which will be Juſtice; *for* he *did undoe*
By writting them what Wit *entail'd* thee to.
Like to an Elder-Brother that is curſt
In all things elſe, yet priz'd *for coming* Firſt.

But to conclude the wiſhes of my Heart,
Oh that my Praiſe *could equal thy* Deſert!

A Letter perſuading——to marry.

THough your Contexture makes me confident, you will not hazard the Dancing Coranto's with Apes in Hell, yet it is none of the leaſt Modern Miracles why you ſtay ſo long unmarried, as if you had an Antidote to repell Age, and were proof againſt the Weapons of Time, or had a Receipt to recover his locks, worn off by ſuch as neglect to lay hold on the preſent occaſion; which you would never do, had you ſeriouſly conſider'd the preſent Condition of your Mother, (whoſe youth is ſaid, ſo blaſphemous is Tradition, rather to have exceeded than come ſhort of your preſent Beauty,) how a few years hath changed Alabaſter into Wainſcot, and ruffled her Neck like a walking Buskin; ſo that ſuch as would once have croſſed Seas, but for an apparition of her, cannot but now think it ominous to meet her faſting. If you reſolve upon none till you pattern the Character your Fancy preſented me, (when I had laſt the Honour to kiſs your hands, and heard the Scorn wherewith you received the Offer of—I muſt be bold to tell you, I took it rather as a

copy

copy of your Countenance, than any thought could take its Original from the Diſcretion I ever own'd you Lady of,) you may as well expect a New Creation, ſince ſo much perfection as your Language did then paint, is not to be found out of a Romance, or the ſhort Entertainment during a Lover's Paſſion; which once throughly cured by fruition, is not found rarely to recoil into as great a contrary Extreme. I confeſs wiſe, conſtant and complete Servants may be had, but few ſuch Husbands, whoſe minds are no leſs altered by Marriage than drunken Men are by Sleep; but become, like them, weary and ſick, of what they formerly took delight in; upon the apprehenſion, that he which yokes himſelf to a Woman, forfeits his Prudence no leſs than ſhe doth hazard her Repute, who encircles a man in her Arms before enchanted by the Prieſt, through cuſtom and ſhame made far more neceſſary to you than Men: Wherefore finding that Time is unceſſantly nibbling at youth, and Beauty the bait of your Trap, and that it is unlikely with no ſtronger Engines to catch one that is Wiſe, be nimble, and lay hold on this that is Rich; who is confeſs'd none of the ſeven wiſe Maſters, and therefore with more eaſe to be governed, the felicities of Marriage periſhing in the conflict ariſing between Man and Wife of equal Spirits and Underſtanding, it being impoſſible there ſhould want Conteſts, where both lay claim to a capacity fit only to be obeyed; which, if you have him, will by all be conceded on your ſide: So that inſtead of being a Ward, (a Tenure every married Woman holds from the award of her Maker,) you ſhall be Guardian of the Perſon and Eſtate of your Husband. Now in relation to other things, upon the ſcore of which you may reckon ſtronger felicities, they will be found, after enjoyment, to vaniſh into Cyphers, Learning becoming as unſociable for Ladies, or half-witted men are wilful and jealous; Rocks that the ſoftneſs of his Head gives ſufficint caution for; ſo that under

under this Conjunction you may, without interruption, follow what Inclinations you pleaſe: Wherefore if you reſolve to Marry, no Husband is more proper, whoſe folly you may exchange for Wiſdom when you pleaſe; and to renounce it quite, were beſides burying your Talent in the Ground, and robbing of the World, which you ought to leave as rich as you found it, you ſhould fall into the condition of an old Man, than which nothing is more deſpicable; who is acceptable in no Company; not daring to come amongſt Women, for fear of declaring more Knowledge than ſhe can with reference to Honeſty own; or approach Men out of the Danger of Contempt: The Moral of *Andromeda* is a Hiſtory of your preſent Condition, where the barren Rock ſhe was tied to is Virginity; the Monſter that came to Devout her, Time; and he reported to deliver her, ſome witty Spark, that perſuaded her to take a Rich——*&c.* to her Husband, might warrant the Acceſs of one more acceptable. Oh, let him have this Honour, Fair Lady, who is,

Madam,

Your Servant.

On a Looking-Glaſs.

DEar Glaſs, tell me by what Art
Thou bear'ſt her Image without breaking;
When the ſame does crack my Heart,
Juſt as I'm now a ſpeaking.

On another which ſhe ſaid did flatter.

BLame not your Glaſs that doth her Duty.
Nor can it flatter ſo much Beauty;
But for the reſt, in Policy
It ſhews them Fairer than they be:

Since

Since if they ſaw their Faces true,
This would be broke, and envy'd you.

Another.

DEar Glaſs, joyn with her Eyes, and both concur
To Note more worth in Me, and leſs in Her.

A Song.

THe Graces are by Cuſtom bound,
Once in an Age, all to be found
In one Creature; there to ſhew.
All the Beauties they do owe;
And now having fix'd on Thee,
Be not Proud, ſince you may ſee
Time allows them not to ſtay,
But to meet, and go away:
Yet though whil'ſt theſe Gueſts be here,
You do rate their Lodging dear;
If you ſuffer me to take it,
I'll not break when they forſake it,
The terms of Fair and Good do not expreſs
Thy VVorth, no more than theirs call Princes fine,
When deck'd in Diamonds, like the Stars they ſhine:
Nay, I'll maintain their folly to be leſs,
Since ſuch a ſight hath oft before been ſeen:
Whil'ſt he that would inform a ſhape like thine,
Prometheus-*like, muſt filch from things Divine.*

On a Picture.

THough this be drawn exactly forth,
It doth no more retain her Worth,
Than the Shadow of a Roſe
Can the Scent of one that grows.

Another,

BEtween this and her Mind there is that odds,
As is in Man's frail-workmanſhip and God's.

A Letter to two Siſters, the one Black, the other Fair.

Ladies,

IT is Deſign, and I hope no Preſumption, in me, to joyn you in one, that, beſides the opportunity of preſenting the higheſt of my Reſpects, I might comprize in a ſingle Letter the total Sum of all the perfection extant in Woman-kind; Black and White being the unqueſtioned Original of that infinite Variety of Beauty, (the mint of Nature,) thro' which is maintained her neceſſary Commerce of Generation: And in this equal Diſtribution, Fortune hath ſhewn no ſmall Ingenuity (who is more Wanton, and Inexorable, than Blind or Careleſs) in aſſigning that of leaſt Duration, the feweſt Years; for if you did not wither alike, Art and Opinion (the Limners and Carvers of all Excellency) would have tempted, if not conſtrained every one to ſerve and adore that Siſter only whoſe Beauty had ſurvived: By which ſweet Variety had been loſt, and Perfection reduced into one Monarchy, which now march in your Two glorious Regiments: To both which I remain an equal Captive, being,

Ladies, &c.

BEauty is writ in ſeveral Characters;
None but are skill'd in ſome: Who finds out All?
Which votes them mad, do ſay that this Man errs,
Becauſe his Choice is Black, or Low, or Tall;
Nature would have all pleas'd, and ſuch as fall

On

On Ordinary Features, are leſs learn'd:
The Indian *Beauties are as plain diſcern'd*
By thoſe do know their Figure, as the VVhite;
Nor can Expreſſion render it ſo right,

As may force others to approve the Text,
Reaſon with Taſte and Love ſhould not be vext.

A Letter to——after the Death of his Lady.

Sir,

I Know, I need not mind you, That all ſublunary things are tranſitory, dancing like the Atoms (the ancient Philoſophers imagined the World not only to be made of, but ſtuffed withall) between one Condition, and another, Life ſeeming to be lent to keep Death in employment, and Generation to ſerve only for the production of Bodies; that the fatal Siſters might not weave in vain, or want Creatures to vail with their Garments of Mortality: But it is time to give over, at leaſt to turn down a Leaf, and refer the Inculcation of this Morality till ſome fitter time, for fear of falling into their Indiſcretion, are found to wake a ſick Friend by an Impertinent Inquiſition after his Condition, or the unſeaſonable Adminiſtration of a Direction which way to diſpoſe of his Body; ſince none can calculate his Eaſe better than the Patient, "Sor-" row it ſelf not being deſtitute of its Voluptuouſ-" neſs. Which hoping you will not too far exceed, give me leave to conclude, That Manners exact-ed this, and Diſcretion, no more but to aſſure

I am, &c.

An EPITAPH.

STone, ſo long as thou doſt laſt,
Let the Reader know thou haſt
The Droſs of Her, once own'd a Mind
Contain'd the worth of Woman-kind.
But no more; Who ſpeaks her Glory,
Muſt have for every Duſt a Story.

The Author's EPITAPH upon Himſelf.

I Envy not ſuch Graves as take up room,
Merely with Jet and Porphyry, ſince a Tomb
Adds no Deſert: VViſdom, thou thing divine!
Convert my humble Soul into thy Shrine.

And then this Body, though it want a Stone,
Shall dignifie all places where 'tis thrown.

A Letter to diſſuade——from Marrying a Rich, but ugly and deformed, &c.

WHen I heard at the firſt you went a Wooing to—— I thought it a Trick put upon you by Enemies, but finding it ſeconded, and ſeeing the fearful Examples of thoſe, who, out of Diſcontent, and a Deſire to change their preſent Condition, are found to caſt away themſelves, I begin to take your Danger to Heart, and do here in the Sincerity of Affection offer my Hand to ſtay the Tying of that Knot with which you go about to Strangle your future Felicity; for though I confeſs the Party may not unpoſſibly be very Rich, yet it is as likely the things required to dead the Apprehenſion of ſuch a loathſome Companion, will prove ſo chargeable, as in a ſhort time her Gold will be ſpent, and nothing left but the foul Beaſt that brought it.

Yet

Yet ſuppoſe you find ſo much as may bear the Expence of Mad Company, Whores, and Drink,(Wicked Cordials, though generally uſed to correct ſuch Poiſon,)Can you diveſt Humanity ſo far,as to make her Partner in a Bed is able to render you ſo much an Enemy to Womankind, as to exchange it for Sodomy, if not Beſtiality it ſelf? For though you may not be puniſhed by Law, the Act will be ſeverely condemned, and eſteem'd Brutiſh by all the Rational part of the World; it not lying in the Gender, or Kind, but Form, to render a Creature Monſtrous and Abominable to the Nature of Commerce.——I am ſo charitable (yet in confidence of others Vertue, rather than her own) as to believe ſhe is a Virgin in reference to Man, who in that Action might with more Juſtice be puniſhed for a Deflowrer of Himſelf than Her: Wherefore you will have no more reaſon to brag of this Privilege, than He that firſt deſcended into Hell; of whoſe Superlative Uglineſs (though her Body be ſo compoſed, as the Devil need not alter the beſt of her Features to make her reſemble the fouleſt of his Fiends; yet) it may be numbred amongſt the Queſtions leaſt capable of Deciſion, Whether That or Her Mind, be moſt Crooked; And to cover this, (yet none of the worſt of her Imperfections,) ſhe is ſupported, like Tyranny, by Steel; from whence her Breath is become ſo noyſome, as no venomous thing can live in her Preſence, nor any Perſon ſick of the Mother miſcarry. Now what effects her Embraces will work upon your ſelf, may be gueſs'd by Grooms;—— who, in a ſmall time, come to out-ſtink the very Beaſts they are converſant with—— And what is ſaid is ſo far from Hyperbolical, as it reſembles Truth more than ſhe does a Woman: Yet all this is but a ſlender Security, to warrant Poſterity upon, ſhould ſuch a Monſter confute Philoſophy, in producing her Like: For if Money be ſo prevalent, as to make you ſell your Liberty, why may it not hire another to become ſo much

a Slave as to do your Drudgery, who cannot be upon ſerious thoughts thus Singular, as to prefer the abſolute Poſſeſſion of a Dungboat before the having a Partner in a Tall Ship? But if ſo fond of Wealth, as to break through theſe Conſiderations, teach her to cover her Face, and not ſalute your Friends; or, if ſhe muſt be Kiſs'd, (the ſtrongeſt Complement was ever uſed,) let her diſrobe her——not poſſible to be more noyſome than her Mouth. If Proſe be not Tart enough to wean you from ſo Childiſh a Reſolution, for the fear of Poetry deſiſt, which may make you the Subject of a Comedy: And gueſs, by theſe Verſes of a Friend, what Enemies may ſay.

CAn you but think the ancient Blindneſs Great,
When Men make Gods of that which we make Meat?
Or wonder thoſe by Nile *could offer* Fat
And goodly Oxen *to an ugly* Cat?
Yet you (no leſs adviſed) *to a* Witch
Will ſell your Fate, *in hope for to be* Rich:
Who, like the Idols *in a* Pagan *Feaſt,*
Carries a Monky's Face *upon her* Breaſt,
Shadow'd with Shoulders, *under which doth ſtay*
A Bonnet crouching, *like a* Hill at Sea.
Nor may her Boſom *fail of a* Device,
To hatch an Egg *into a* Cockatrice;
Or turn Men Atheiſts, *who believe no* Elves
Can now be found, but what we make our ſelves.
Were She in India, *where they ſerve the* Devil,
Not out of Hope *of* Good, *but* Fear of Evil,
They would adore Her, *leſt her* Sun-like Noſe
Should burn, *and* ſmoke Tobacco *as it grows:*
Or, leſt the Venome of her loathſome Breath
Might blow ſome foul Contagion o'er *the Earth:*
Or, that the Spaniards, *by her malice taught,*
Might learn more Cruelty, *than e'er they thought:*
Yet amongſt all the People worſt miſled,
None ever took a Friend into his Bed:

Which

Which proves that Nature *doth abhor your Deed,*
In offering to a Dæmon Humane Seed:
And what will be your Iſſue, joyn'd with her,
None can reſolve you but a Conjurer;
For while ſhe is in Labour *you may hear*
The Good-Wives *ſhriek, and ſome* Phyſician *ſwear*
It is a Child; *And that he finds in* writ
Such Births, *before the* Prieſt *dare* Chriſten *it.*

Now if this *cannot* Move *you, may your* Task
Be to beget a complete Anti-mask.

A Letter in Reference to a Coy Lady.

THough I confeſs the Lady you recommended may prove a Pleaſure to others are at leiſure wholly to intend making Love, (no Hare being better provided of Muces and Shifts to put off Followers than ſhe,) yet, ſo dull a Soul as mine, in the Apprehenſion of the Difference between one individual Beauty and another, is ſtill ready, with the Mayor of *London*, to loſe all the Pleaſure of Hunting, in the inſignificant (though perhaps to others ears pleaſant) Cry of the Hounds; catching of Larks, and Sparrows, leſs chargeable and troubleſome, being more acceptable and grateful to ſome Complexions than Hawking at the *Heron*; the latter being too full of Splendour, Noiſe, Delays, and impertinent Complements for a Perſon, that, like me, is not born with the Patience to run after a flying Beauty, or ſpend time in beating for that another will find to my hand, for a ſmaller ſum than may compence the tearing my Repute, or burthening my Conſcience with vain and fallacious Oaths and Covenants, in the Adminiſtration of which ſhe is as punctual as the *Calydonian* Commiſſioners: Yet I cannot deny, but that ſhe is richly worth the purchaſe of any that own the Knack of ſuch Amorous Zealots, as have the Pati-

ence to continue ſtill whining, where they know, thro' the Conſciouſneſs of their own Unworthineſs, that they are not likely to be heard, making a ſincere profeſſion of Love and Reſpect, when their chiefeſt Intent is only to plunder what I fear this Lady is to ſeek of already, or elſe foully bely'd; none keeping their Avenues more ſtrictly barred, than ſuch as have been robbed already in this kind: Wherefore having caſt up by my ſelf the whole Value of the Adventure, I find it no more than I can truck for nearer home, and with greater eaſe and conveniency to my ſelf.

Yet, before I break out into an Open Rebellion againſt ſo Sovereign and abſolute a Beauty, I will preſent her with this incloſed Petition; to which if ſhe gives not a ſatisfactory and full Anſwer, I am reſolved to break off all farther Addreſs, and to proclaim her a Tyrant, and her Subjects abſolved from their Oaths and Obedience; ſo as for the future it may be lawful for them to enrol themſelves under the red and white Colours of any other Miſtreſs they eſteem more Debonaire.

The Petition.

I *Pray* diſpatch *my Suit, or elſe* deny *it*;
For if I ſpend more Time *I dearly* buy *it.*
If you diſtruſt my Truth, *I do proteſt*
By that which binds Men *moſt, I* love *you beſt.*
——*It is not out of* Fear *that I ſhould* tell;
You never heard me brag *when I did well,*
Or is't engage me more that you delay it?
None better knows the Grant, *nor how to pay it.*
Is it the Sin *you fear, which none can* Gueſs?
Cutting off Oaths, *and* Time, *you make it* leſs.
Nay, 'tis no Fault, *in you to leſſen* Mine,
Better once drunk, *than ſtill* to thirſt *for Wine.*
——*Hath* Nature *made a* Blot *below your* Zone?
My Love *would cover it, and count it* none

Have

Have you a Servant *that you think is true?*
I have a Miſtreſs *too, and yet* love you.

If you can add to theſe Objections *more,*
Pay me for what is paſt, and i'll give o'er.

A Character on a Debauched Soldier.

HE Carries no Sign of Reputation but in his Mouth, and that he ſuffers to run over with tedious Stories of his own Valour; to juſtifie which he hath wiſhed his Damnation ſo often, as it is now ſure; rendring him uncapable of any other Peace of Conſcience, but what he finds in Drink, or the operation of no Diviner Spirit, than that incites to Luſt and Revenge; his Religion being ſo far of his own making, as he imagines God, like his old Hoſt, beſt pleaſed by the largeſt Reckonings. With his Tongue he deſires Wars, but is in Heart at peace with all but his Maker. He had rather be thought behind-hand for Money than Word; and will ſooner ſatisfie an Enemy than a Friend, being readier to requite what he receives in Anger than Love, Injuries than Good turns; rendring himſelf a Slave to Martial and Arbitrary Juſtice for a ſmall Salary, under the improbable pretence of freeing others. Nor dares this Gladiatour, that rants ſo high in Taverns, and on the Ale-bench, oppoſe any thing but Patience to the higheſt Affront a ſuperiour Officer is pleaſed to put upon him: Though no Papiſt, he abhors the Church; and, like ſome of our Reformiſts, carries no more marks of a Proteſtant, than what are legible in Perjury, *&c.* yet brags more of his Whoring and Drinking, than any Catholick doth of his Good Works; who is thus far happy, that though he wants Faith to make him a True Saint, he owns not ſo much Hypocriſie, as to appear ſo; and therefore more capable of Repentance than

than thoſe that Plunder and Murther others, under a ſecret pretence of honouring that God he only profanes. He brags much of his Scars, which truly Examined, prove rather the Effects of Intemperance, than Marks of Valour; his Face bearing the hideous Impreſs of Pots and Glaſſes received not in the Field of *Mars*, but the eaſier-entered Sconces of *Bacchus*. Whoſe Diſcourſe, though it travel'd ſtill betwixt one beſieged place, or Leaguer, to another, yet it was always tedious, and if you altered the Subject, his underſtanding appeared proof againſt all Senſe. After whom followed this Epitaph.

At the Saracen's *Head* Tom *pour'd in Ale and Wine,*
Until his Face did repreſent the Sign.

To Dr. Ch. *Chaplain to* W. E. *of* Pem.

SIR,

WHilſt it pleaſed you to communicate with me, in a Style ſuitable to the frailty of my underſtanding, I took infinite content in the Converſe; but ſince you have cloathed your Letters in the Thundering and Glorious Ornaments of Learning, I am not able to cope with you; wherefore let me implore your favour ſo far as to lay theſe Advantages by, and not render your love terrible to me, who did never queſtion your Power, but own you in the higheſt ſublimity the World hath (being prompted by ſo much deſert) advanced you to, and on ſuch Terms I may enjoy your Acquaintance; whereas otherwiſe I ſhall be forced to take Sanctuary in a perpetual ſilence, leſt I ſhould loſe that litle Reaſon I have, in ſeeking to comprehend the infiniteneſs of yours. And to avoid any miſ-information of the Quarrel at —— between my Lo—— and the E. of *C*—— it was really thus; the K—— having, though againſt his will, prevailed with my L. to go into the Weſt, by reaſon of his Intereſt in thoſe parts, with

with the other Councellors of State, in hope to facilitate the Payment of the five ſubſidies voted, but not given, by Parliament, and now Chriſtened a Royal *Lone*; the Commiſſioners being by the Fire, a diſpute aroſe between the two former Lords, whether it was poſſible for one had never been upon the place, to ſpeak and underſtand *French* perfectly: The L. of——who you know never ſet foot out of *England*, maintained the Affirmative with ſo much eagerneſs, that the other, who had not only more Reaſon on his ſide, but the approbation of the Company, ſaid my L— beſt Argument was noiſe; a ſpeech, my L. replied, was undecent for an E. of Compliments; and upon this the other returned the lye: To which my L. made ſuch a manual Anſwer, as the L. C. being pent up in his cloths, fell down, whereupon they were parted, and reconciled; ſhame, and the Title of His Majeſty's graveſt Privy Councellors, facilitating the Compoſition. It is already arrived at the *Spaniſh* Ambaſſador's, who, according to his facetious Mode, put it upon the ſcore of our *Engliſh* Valour, which the graveſt relations cannot make them to forget. I am ſtill haunted for Verſes from our *French Curriot*, who is reſolved to Print his Book in *Engliſh*: Thoſe I made are theſe,

WHat doſt thou mean, my Friend, in this bad time
To write of Vertue, when 'tis thought a Crime
Not to be Vitious? ſuch a Book would ſell,
Could prove all Damn'd did offer to do well:
Or find that Pimping is a lawful Trade,
Becauſe that Sarah *brought her Lord a Maid:*
Or vindicate what Origen *hath caſt,*
That Court and Hell ſhall meet in Heaven at laſt;
Or prove that Inceſt is a venial Sin,
Becauſe that Lot *defil'd his neareſt Kin.*
O couldſt thou maintain this, then thou ſhouldſt be
Rais'd to high place for thy Divinity.

Then

Then loſe no time, let Goodneſs take her chance,
Whilſt you comply with Sin and Ignorance.

On a COOK.

A Cook is a Bawd to the Mouth, that kills his own Stomach to quicken his Maſters; who lives, like a Bear, by licking his Fingers: Before a Feaſt, he in his white Sleeves and Apron reſembles the Ephod of a Prieſt, and ſeems to be preparing rather a Sacrifice than a Supper, in which the Grand Sallet may juſtly be thought to perſonate an Idol: HisOffice is a repreſentation of Hell, where all ſorts of Creatures are Tormented in Flames, to ſatisfie the depraved and various nature of the Taſtes of men, whoſe Pleaſures, and higheſt Contentments, are no other ways to be compleated, but at the prejudice of their Fellow-Animals, over whichReaſon, not Strength, hath purchaſed them the Sovereignity, ſo much abuſed in this World, as may render the worſt of puniſhments juſt in the next. His profeſſion ſomething quadrates with Heraldry, varying no leſs in Sawces than they do in Colours, Bends, Feſſes, and Metals, and are as much puzled about Marſhalling the Diſhes, and calculating the precedency at the Table of a Wood-Cock, or Wigeon, a Gull, or Goſling, as the other are in placing Lords and Ladies; but this, and all the reſt of his Learning and Induſtry, concludes as I do, in an excrement, which I wiſh in his ——— *&c.* And ſo leave him to Blaſpheme in the Kitchin, or cooling his Tongue in the Cellar.

A Character of an Hoſt.

AN Hoſt is one who thrives with drinking, and grows Rich by Entertainments. He is of vaſt acquaintance, but can number few Friends, beſides thoſe reſulting

reſulting from Travel, or Neceſſity: His Converſation is alike to all Men, that he may gain the more Money, being equally Hoſpitable to every Religion he can ſave by; giving his Gueſt the beſt Content o'er Night, out of hope to pleaſe himſelf in the Morning. The Government of his Houſe is Tyrannical, all Taxes being arbitrary at the Will of his Wife, who ſits Regent in the Kitchin; yet every one that enters, takes his Chamber, for the time he ſtays, as his own, with no leſs aſſurance than *Don Quixot* did the whole Manſion for an enchanted Caſtle. He ventures that Reaſon he hath in all Companies, and in Defiance of any Drink the weary Traveller pleaſeth to call for, which if ſaid to be mingled, or adulterate, he calls the Name of God, and the perſon of the Drawer to atteſt the contrary. The Sign is the Scheme by which you may take the Aſcendent of his Underſtanding, and his Half peck the Meaſure of his Conſcience, of which the Hoſtler is Chancellor, and keeps the Key; making no more of cheating a Stranger's Horſe, than his Miſtreſs doth in over-reaching both. If her Husband be grown into his perfect Symetry, his Belly bears the exact proportion of the biggeſt Jugg, and his Face of that in the firſt Edition of Fryar *Bacon*'s Works: He ſuits his Diſcourſe, as Fiddlers do their Song to the Ears of the Hearers, chuſing rather to offend Truth than his Company: And in caſe any ride double, he proclaims them Man and Wife, as far more willing to foment Bawdery, than foul two pair of Sheets. He is ſeldom far out of the way, though Drunk, or Hang'd: The firſt being as near the Road of his Profeſſion, as the latter is that of his Deſert.

Youth, Wit, and Beauty, like a painted Sign.
May ſtay a Stranger, but 'tis Sprightful Wine,
And decent Welcome, makes him light and dine:
For who will paſs his time in ſuch a place,
Where nought appears of moment, but a Face?

Deductions

Deductions from the Hiſtory of the Earl of Eſſex, *who was executed for Treaſon, under the Reign of Queen* Elizabeth; *with a modeſt Anſwer to Sir* Henry Wotton.

THE Love of a People, may be obſerved of no leſs dangerons a conſequence for a Subject to truſt to, than their Hatred proves to ſuch Princes as are ſo unwary as to neglect it; for after that Sir *Robert Cecil* had prevailed ſo far upon his own Brother, the Earl of *Exeter* (moſt elſe refuſing the employment, out of Love or Fear,) as to proclaim *Eſſex* a Traitor, he appeared deſerted by all, but ſome few unfortunate Gentlemen, whoſe lives, out of Gratitude, or Want, depended wholly on his.

Nor is the Affection of a Prince leſs permanent, than their Anger deadly; and in the firſt of theſe the Queen was unconſtant, in the latter inexorable: wherefore if during ſo long a reign no great quantity of blood was ſpilt, it rather reſulted from her Subjects Innocency, than any propenſity to forgiveneſs, inherent in her Nature; nothing coming ſo hardly from her as a Pardon, I mean of ſuch faults as concerned her ſelf: And in this ſhe ſhewed a rare prudence, in becoming able to raiſe a profitable uſe out of a natural defect, for (born of that Sex, allowed by all as the weakeſt in Judgment) ſhe lay more obnoxious to a Cenſure of inſufficiency, than that of Tyranny, the ſternneſs of whoſe looks hath in all ages ſcared away contempt, the inſeparable Companion of a cheap and effeminate Nature.

So as neither *Leiceſter*, *Hatton*, nor any other Minion, could ever extract ſo much favour from her, as might

might ſerve their Lands, or Heirs, from refunding what their Fathers had miſ-ſpent; her favours keeping no ſervant company, beyond the land of the living, the moſt apparent reaſon why the Lady *Elizabeth Hatton* caſt her ſelf into the contaminated arms of Attorney *Cook*. Nor could her diſpoſition to ſeverity be in any thing more manifeſt, than the extraordinary means uſed but to defer the execution of the *E.* of *Southamp.* who had, beſides pity, the Enemies of *Eſſex* to plead for him; yet ſhe continued inflexible towards mercy, till the ſame hand that led her into the temptation, did, like the Devil's, ſhew her the glory ſhe was fallen from already in her Subjects opinion, by quenching his and their enemies malice with the blood of their Darling: Nor was this hard-extracted Mercy ſuitable to the emergency of the preſent occaſion, for, (as I have been often told) not only thoſe that did in the peoples opinion contribute to the murther (as many called it) of the Earl, but the *Queen* her ſelf was expoſed to ſome publick affronts, the ſpectators ſhe paſſed through in every Town (eſpecially in *London*) becoming far thinner and muter than formerly they were.

Some Princes love not that Child in order to ſucceed them, but all abominate a ſtranger lies under that notion; the cauſe that ſhe, contrary to the well-being of the Subject, no leſs than the privilege of Parliament, committed *Pigot* and *Wentworth* for moving to know the Man, and beheaded *Eſſex* but for making a ſmall demonſtration of offering himſelf, though the later *Roman* Tyrants took that little ſecurity they did enjoy from a quite contrary courſe; but this was at a time when the blood Royal lay extinct, and the poſſeſſion of the Crown fell to his ſhare had the *Keeneſt* Sword and ſtrongeſt Head-piece: In which caſe the moſt probable way to ſecure the Prince, was the declaring his Succeſſour, who to preſerve his own dignity, was likely to take revenge on any that ſhould aſſaſſinate

assassinate him in the Throne before, a thing very ordinary in those depraved times; not so in *England*, where, during her Reign, there were no less than fourteen titles, good and bad, which by her Silence were all kept quiet; for till she made a publick declaration, none had a just cause to complain, and in case any endeavoured to have succeeded by force, she had a fair choice out of the rest to make opposition, none being free from some considerable defect or other, the Parliament remaining wholly at her devotion, and no ill-willers to *Essex*; the Commons being as fearful of the Regiment of a Stranger, as the Peerage were jealous of the house of *Hartford*, or any else deducible out of their own Body. Fortune appearing then in all particulars so strong on *Essex* side, as she seemed rather unable, than unwilling to bear out the charge of his folly, who put her upon such impertinent errands, as the Dutch youth do fools on the second of *April*; thro' which she became so far tired, as she was forced at last to return him a Block and a Hatchet. This unconstant Deity being in the number of such giddy auxiliaries, as none can be sure what side she will take, and therefore not to be trusted by a wise man; the most steady if not signal events, having been brought about without any other mediation of hers, but what is unpossible to be avoided; in which sense she is rather capable of the title of Providence than Luck, Fortune resembling a Cane, which no wise man, but in an unadvoidable necessity, will hazard the weight of his whole rest upon: Wherefore the Earl of *Essex*, if he had not been befated with a strong Opinion of successe in all his actions, (though built on the weakest foundation,) would never have referred his life and future well-being to the sole arbitration of Chance, and the unconstant guidance of a Woman's Affection; which being only skin-deep, could not but in a Court furnish a person of far less magnitude than a Sovereign Power with choice enough; especially after his enemies,

Enemies, for their own ſecurity, had ſo far Indulged his, as to furniſh him with an Army paid by the Q. and choſen by himſelf. Nor were the greateſt Families then in Rebellion in *Ireland*, (rendred by the moſt probable reports) leſs obedient to him than his reſpective Officers: And if theſe advantages had been too little to have ſet the Crown upon his Head, after the deceaſe of his Miſtreſs, he might have had any Men or Money from the moſt Catholick King, who would have advanced his Deſigns, or any natural *Engliſh* Subject's elſe, that had but oppoſed the *Scottiſh* Succeſſion. Which was formerly projected by *Leiceſter*, and the only viſible occaſion he managed the *Engliſh* Force in the *Netherlands* with ſo little care, and worſe Succeſs, who immediately began to proſper upon his remove. But *Eſſex* had Religion and Fidelity inherent in his Nature, Humours known ſo incompatible with Ambition, as it was no leſs unſafe for him to court a Crown, than it did after prove incongruous and miſ-becoming, for his more frigid Son to make Love, and importune Ladies. Nor is this a Conjecture of my own, but what I have often heard averred by the Friends of Sir *Charles Danvers*, whoſe youngeſt Siſter Marryed my eldeſt Brother; and that the Honeſty of *Eſſex* (never denied to exceed his Deſcretion) might for the preſent moderate his Ambition, but how he would have behaved himſelf in the Company of an abſolute Power, may be ſafer now diſputed by us, than at that time experimented by the Queen, Succeſs in thoſe that wear it expunging, like *Aqua Fortis*, all former marks of Allegiance or Probity; for though his firſt thoughts might be of no larger extent than to remove *Cecil*, and others declared Enemies, under the Notion of Evil Councellors, that poured into her Ears ſuch tales as were diſadvantageous to the true Religion, and Policy of the State; yet that point gained, he could not from a lower ſtation than a Throne have ſatisfied ſo many, wiſer Men than himſelf, whoſe clearer inſight into the advantages he was

then in Poſſeſſion of, had tempted to be adventurers with him: So as all the favour could have accrued to his Miſtreſs from a more happy Succeſs than befell the Earl, exceeded not the Complement of continuing her in his Lap, (a place not likely to ſute long with her Age, or his occaſions.) Queen *Elizabeth*'s Reign having been too reſerved, quietly to have endured from an Adminiſtrator (ſhe remaining yet in being) ſo profuſe an expence of Honour and Riches, as was expedient to be thrown to ſuch a needy party, as had already embarked themſelves in his ſervice whoſe fidelity and ſtrength (the Nurſlings of *hope, reward, and preferment*,) was requiſite to maintain him on the Stage: For though poſſibly, his deſires might terminate in a removal of his Enemies, they had no honeſter deſign than to raiſe themſelves, without much reference had to the means. From whence it is eaſie to contemplate the prodigious Diſparities in Rebellion; which though begun upon never ſo juſt, moderate, or Religious pretences, neceſſity, Ambition, and humane frailty will interject ſo many new and unexpected pretences, and events, as it rarely concludes without the ruine of it ſelf, or the Common-wealth; which once ſuffered to grow intemperate and run over, it doth like a Pot conſume its own fat, and loſeth its former Strength and Glory, by raiſing the droſs and dregs of her Subjects upermoſt.

One cauſe of his preſumption was the fond Opinion he had, that ſhe would not rob her Eyes of the great delight ſhe took in his Perſon; a Fantaſtical over-weaning of himſelf, and Womens Affection, to whom no ſingle Man's perfections were ever yet found continually grateful.

Now ſuch as wonder how ſhe durſt bring him to the Scaffold, for fear of her own Honour, are not throughly ſtudied in the boldneſs of Princes (whoſe faces are continually ſteeled with the Varniſh of a Groſs Flattery, put upon their worſt Actions) no more than the compunctions of Dying Men, who deſire *rather to clear* themſelves towards

towards God, and the World, than impertinently to accuſe others: Beſides, a hope of Pardon, not to be cut off but with his Head, was a ſufficient Reaſon to reſtrain him from breaking out into any intemperate ranting againſt his Prince, as *Biron* of *France* did not long after moſt imprudently fall into, in reference to his King, *Henry* the Fourth, dying, in the opinion of the generality, rather like a Mad man than a Chriſtian: Yet had *Eſſex* unladen his Boſom of all it did contain, it might poſſibly not have ſwelled to ſo great a bulk, as did then appear in the Opinion of the moſt, or that it may after be blown up to by flatulent Poſterity, (ſeldom endued with ſo even a fortune, as to have truth and falſhood weighed to it in an equal Balance,) manifeſt in a number of Relations extant at home and abroad; the Blood ſhe inherited, no leſs than her Father's humour, having procured her no good Opinion from the Church, according to whoſe Dialect the generality did heretofore, out of Ignorance, or reverence, tune their belief.

Had he been true to his firſt Principles, molded by ſome more dexterous heads than his own, which was to Spin out his time, together with the *Iriſh* War, till a certain report of the Queens ſickneſs, or Death, had come to him, from ſuch an unqueſtioned number of his own Confidents, as were able to have aſſured belief, it might in reaſon have preſented him with his wiſh, or at worſt ſo much Power as would have made him arbitratour of the next Succeſſion; but haſte, proceeding from a natural Impatience to live out of *England*, and the contrary advice received from ſome near about him; (ſuborned to deſtroy him,) rendred all addle, by perſuading his return without an Army, upon a falſe report raiſed of her Majeſties Death, the time aſſigned wherein to ſhew himſelf. And to this end the Wars in *Ireland* were prolonged, with no weaker endeavours than *Mountjoy* uſed after to conclude them, owner of no other project, but the reducing of that Province unto obedience, *Eſſex* preſuming ſo far upon the Peoples af-

fections, that he thought the ſound of his coming able to raiſe an Army wherever he came.

Eſſex, if he had been Maſter of parts ſtrong enough to nave mounted him into the Saddle of Sovereignity, might have found by the beating of the Parliament, (a true pulſe of the Nation,) That there was no probability to raiſe any advantageous diſtemper for him during the life of the Queen, the People apprehending little other cauſe of diſcontent, but what might ariſe from the thought, that their preſent felicity depended only on the continuance of an old Lady, after whom they expected more diſmal Days than their Love could ever have imagined from the Government of *Eſſex*.

Wherefore to lay the Scene of any thing carried but the Vizard of a Rebellion in *London*,(at that time abounding with Riches and Felicity,)was an act ſavouring of ſo great Imprudence, as I wonder his Enemies ſhould bring him to it, or his Friends ſuffer him to proſecute; as I have often told ſome, at that time near about him,who made me no other anſwer,but that he Periſhed between his own Preſumption,and others Infidelity. His ſecurity might have been more,and loſs leſs,had he gone into *Wales*, when he paſſed through *London*, where he had great Love both by Inheritance from his Father (a good Landlord) and his own purchaſe, always of a liberal Nature; Nor did he fail to wear a *Leek* on St. *David*'s day, but beſides, would upon all occaſions vindicate the *Welch* Inhabitants, and own them tor his Countreymen, as Q. *Elizabeth* uſually was wont upon the firſt of *March*. And by this the Earl grew ſo Popular amongſt theſe People (eſpecially ſuch as had little to loſe,) that without all queſtion, ſo many would have appeared in his favour, as might have procured him audience from her Majeſty, and not improbably the removal of his Enemies, under that notion hated by the generality, no leſs than thoſe linked to him, under a more ſtrict Friendſhip. Or if this had

had been too hard a task, their Strengh and Means was not likely to want power to land him again in *Ireland*, from whence he had been drawn by his own folly, and the Wiſdom of his Maligners; where not only the *Engliſh*, but the Natives (to thoſe in actual Rebellion) were his reported Servants; the Catholicks, till they were better Cajoled by the *Scotiſh* Kings Confidents, not obſtructing his Deſigns. And how ſecure he would have been in that Province, may be gueſſed by *Tyrone*, the Capital Rebel, who notwihſtanding more impartial endeavours than the Lord Lieutenant *Eſſex* had uſed, did obtain his Pardon, in a manner maugre the *Engliſh* Forces.

Eſſex was too honeſt to have removed every Impediment lying in the way to Sovereignity, nothing but Death being able to gagg a Perſon Robb'd of a Crown: Yet her Succeſſor met with no oppoſition, though bred in an Air ever Peſtiferous to this Nation; which wiſely conſider'd, might have tempted a People to have diſputed his entrance, till caution given; but the Riches and Felicities enjoyed, during the incomparable Reign of Queen *Eliz.* hung yet like Holy days at their Fingers ends, by which they were become ſo effeminate, and unadviſed, as to chuſe rather to fall into an incurable Conſumption, than hazard a little the ſhaking by a few fits of a Fever; which if choſen, might not unlikely have proved as wholeſome Phiſick for King *James* as *England*, who wanting a legal pretext, had nothing left him in ſafety ſtrong enough to refell the Brazen-faced Impudence of his Countrymen's Importunity. But the laſt Scene of Princes, like the Cataſtrophe of a Play, is ſo huddled up, and every one ſo intent upon his own particular Intereſt, (being muffled by hope or fear,) as that is left merely to the diſpoſition of Fortune, which ought only to be intruſted with Prudence herſelf: Nor did the readineſs of the *Scots* to Arm (in hope of ſo much Plunder as this Nation might afford, ſhrouded under the Spetious pretences of *Henry* the VIIth's

eldeſt Daughter) portend leſs in the ears of the unreſolved, than a poſſibility of Conqueſt, the moſt ungrateful ſound to the formerly free People of *England*. Neither did theſe conjectures receive ſmall aggravation from thoſe formerly ſuborned to promote the entrance of the *Stuarts*, who, if *Eſſex* had remained true to his Principles, might have been ſaluted on the borders by an Army ſtrong enough to have moderated the *Scots* conditions, or advanced his own; though it was the univerſal Opinion, that *Eſſex*'s Ambition did, like the great Earl of *Warwick*'s, terminate in a deſire to bring in *James* on his own ſcore.

It is not probable the Earl carried any evil meaning towards the Common-wealth, becauſe neither his enemies, nor friends, are found to mention any endeavour in him to call in a Foreigner: Wherefore if the Crown was his Miſtreſs, he uſed the decent way of wooing her, which was only through the Mediation of her native Subjects; yet I doubt whether he had juſtly calculated the weight of this Circumſtance, That *Conſcience is dangerous in an Uſurper, as cruelty and exceſs is deadly and undecent in him doth legally ſucceed.*

I have heard it, though looked upon by me as a Paradox, that *Eſſex* would have vindicated the Engliſh freedom, by reviving ſuch ancient Privileges as had been pretermitted during the tyrannical Reigns of the two laſt *Henry*'s, and no ways indulged by Queen *Elizabeth*, which not extending all her time beyond a few particulars, was then leſs diſcernible, no act of hers being regiſtred ſo contrary to the grain of her own people as the death of this man; th Queen of *Scots* being looked upon as a Catholick, which, in the general dialect of *England* at that time, ſignified no leſs than a ſworn enemy to God and the Prince, (ſo zealous, if I may not ſay furious, are all changes,) that it was paſſed over without any apprehenſion of honour, or pity, as juſtified by the cruel Maſſacre committed not long before upon the *French* Huguenots, at the inſtigation

tion of that King's Mother, an Act through which the integrity of Princes was much abated: But whether his Nation, by reaſon of her divers titles, and diſparity in eſtates, was capable of that abſolute freedom hath ſince been fanſied by ſome, I leave to the Arbitration of greater Politicians; only this I am confident of, that no fair capitulation could have diſobliged K. *James*, who lay under too many doubts, and ſtrong deſires, to have refuſed ſo peaceable an entry as he found, upon any lawful limitations; manifeſt in the advice given to his Son, wherein are more Popular Rules than himſelf was ever obſerved to follow.

By the vaſt quantity of tears let fall from the Multitude upon his Grave may be noted, how far eaſier it is to find pity than protection, though his friends if united, would have proved the major part; who, for want of a good-head piece to follow this univerſal affection, like floating Atoms, made only a world of calamity for himſelf and his party; but this blow paſt recalling, ſet the People's teeth ſo much on edge, as all the Queen did after was thought bitter, and her Government too peeviſh and effeminate for ſo warlike a Nation: Nor did ſhe decline leſs in the opinion of the Court it ſelf, no counſel daring after to appear, but what was ſuitable to the *Cecilian guſto*.

Here may be noted, with what Circumſpection Princes ought to play their Game, ſince Counſellours, their Card-holders, are not ſeldom Cheaters, and intend more particular Intereſts than their Maſters; as appear in the remove of *Eſſex*, a man thought far more neceſſary to the Queen's Service, and *England*'s ſafety, than ſuch as purchaſed his ruin. The banding of two factions being the moſt probable way to keep this already ſuperannuated Princeſs from falling into contempt; for ſuch Commands, as under both parties would have been readily obeyed, were, after one had got the abſolute diſpoſure of affairs, wholly neglected. *Eſſex*'s return (which no queſtion would have been

endeavoured upon the leaſt diſcontent of Her Majeſty) appearing of ſo diſmal a conſequence to his enemies as nothing might procure it was thought ſafe, or what did obſtruct it dangerous. Nor was it poſſible for this Planet, ſo near its declenſion, to influence another Party, none daring to run the Hazard of an unadvoidable future Ruin, upon the contemplation of a year or two's power; which was more than her age, and preſent weakneſs did in any probability promiſe.

This proves it had been the Queens better policy to have conceded the Life of the Earl to the tears and vows of the People, through which their Love had not only been preſerved entire, but (what was next conſiderable) ſo great a reſtraint put upon the contrary Cabal, as might contain them within the compaſs of Obedience, out of fear ſhe ſhould have let looſe this Lyon, who to that end ſhe might have kept in the Tower, his death not being probable, as her Subjects ſtood affected, to have countervailed the advantage of his Life. And this overſight was the more inexcuſable, becauſe the Anceſtors of the Earl's chiefeſt enemies had by the ſame Arts rendred her ungrateful to the People of *England*, in a like caſe of ſeverity towards the Duke of *Norfolk*.

Nor did ſhe apprehend, till it was too late, the wound given her own Power, through the mediation of the Hangman, in the death of *Eſſex*; not being able ever after to moderate the Inſolency of thoſe that now did not ſtick to ſlight her, and ſtory openly in her ears the neceſſity ſhe lay under, to declare the *Scotch* King her Succeſſour, leſt the Parl. ſhould be (for their own ſafety) compelled to do it themſelves; which had not been omitted, but (as I have been told) to endear King *James* more to ſome particular families, of which the moſt noble for birth found afterwards little cauſe to applaud their Deſign. Neither were other reports wanting, which being uſual at the Death of all Princes, I ſhall here wilfully omit, as quite unſatisfied-

tisfied of their truth: Nor had I ſaid this, but that there hath been from the beginning of the uncivil Wars (wherein none were maſters of what they had) diverſe imperfect Copies of my own hand left in the cuſtody of one did Print ſome of them, under a nameleſs Author, though very falſe; and might have done this, if not timely prevented.

Nor did this blow terminate only in the ruin of the *Earl*'s Friends, but extended to the diſadvantage of his Maligners themſelves, apparent in Sr. *Walter Raleigh*, who wanting ſtrength, though not wit, to be the Treaſurer's Corrival, periſhed, becauſe not thought to own humility enough to be his Servant: it being *more ſafe at Court to have many Enemies of equal power, than one falſe ambitious friend, that hath attained to the abſoluteneſs of Command.* The agitations and tempeſts ariſing from conſiderable factions in the houſes of Princes (reſembling ſome winds at ſea, by which men are driven (though by contrary means) to one and the ſame end) would of neceſſity have miſcarried, or periſhed, had any ſingle Party prevailed; the one ſtill thinking it honourable to preſerve and advance what the other eſteems ſafe to ſuppreſs and deſtroy. And this *Raleigh* was often heard to ſay he did not apprehend, before his Genius had dictated it to him, as he came in a Boat from the execution of the Earl of *Eſſex*, which was done at the Tower; nor could the wiſeſt of his endeavours free him from the dire effects of this portent, or, to name it more properly, a neceſſary cauſe of ſuch events, as did after befall him.

The Death of *Eſſex*, like a Melancholy cloud, did ſhade the proſpect of her People's affection, from being ſo diſcernible at the ſhutting of her Days, as it was during the Dawning and Meridian of her Reign; yet if *Eſſex* had been try'd by a Peerage of Angels, they would have paſſed a like Sentence upon him, or expoſed Monarchy to contempt: Wherefore Prudence cannot lay the fault at the door of her Juſtice but the

ill

ill management of her Mercy, as not knowing how to employ it, toward the beſt advantage of her future affairs. But after an impartial Reflection made, in reference to private perſons, averſeneſs towards any apprehenſion of defect, we may poſſibly learn to wonder why ſhe made no better proviſion againſt contempt, till that hour a mere ſtranger to this Princeſs, who had all her ſails continually fill'd with flattery or ſucceſs.

Now to vindicate Her Majeſty from the obvious aſperſion I have ſo often heard her Prudence upbraided withal, (for neglecting the *Italian* mode quite, in the removal of *Mary* the Scotiſh Queen, and Dowager of *France*, ſo much the more undecent, as the hand of a Hangman is leſs honourable than that of a Phyſician;) I may ſay, That ſince thoſe, who, for their own ſakes as well as their Sovereign's, thought it not ſafe to be left undone, wanted the skill or ſpirit to do it a clandenſtine way, it was more diſcretion than folly to refuſe ejecting one ſo uncouth her ſelf; ſuch a leſſon being eaſier learned than forgotten, and might have been afterward practiſed to her Perſonal diſadvantage.

And if reports on all hands were not miſtaken, little thanks is due to thoſe who made the Nation acceſſary, through this ſolemn Tryal to the Death of his Mother they meant next to ſet up: Nor can an undoubted deſire in the *Scots* to have her removed, the better to facilitate the Succeſſion of their King (who did more indulge his Patience than Honour, in paſſing unrevenged thoſe houſes, ſprinkled by her blood) juſtifie their diſcretions, that could not but know all Obligation was more likely to be loſt in the ſhame, than found in any grateful acknowledgment of ſuch actions as theſe. And if their Poſteriy taſte of the like Juſtice, they may ſacrifice repentance to ſuch nets, as themſelves ſpread to enſnare this Queen firſt, and then *Eſſex*; the fault of the laſt being in reference to the Inno-

Innocent driving on the deſign, as far below ſuch ſeverity, as the Majeſty of the other was above it.

Nothing commends the goodneſs of Queen *Elizabeth's* Reign more, than that ſhe and her Subjects ſhould have one and the ſame Minion, as happened in *Eſſex*; whereas the hatred of the people, proved after an undoubted conſequence of her Succeſſour's Love, remaining no leſs confident of the choice of the one, than diffident of the others, the Queen wanting no medium to interpoſe between her and their fury; from whence grew a confidence, that ſhe would not countenance an unworthy Man: Neither was it a ſmall advancement to this general complyance, that the people appeared not at the coſt to raiſe him; it being the cuſtom of this thrifty Princeſs to let her Favourites taſte, not ſurfeit on the wealth of the Nation, conveying her Largeſſes by Spoons, not Buckets: The names of Monopolies, and extrajudicial Taxes, not being intelligible to experience all her days; neither were her ears ſtopped againſt her people's complaint ever thought by her juſt, and ſo fit to receive a preſent redreſs; the cauſe her Parliaments were no farther inquiſitive than ſhe was pleaſed to inform them.

Had her Succeſſour retained the like Moderation, the power of our Repreſentative had never fallen under the malleation of ſo exſitenve a diſpute, which hath raiſed Men's minds up to ſo impetuous a Billow, as it is queſtionable, whether that which ſupported her power, may not through a contrary application utterly ruin thoſe may ſucceed; Queen *Elizabeth* being not only fortunate in her conduct at home, but able to diffuſe peace and plenty over ſuch Neighbour-Nations, as ſhe was adviſed by true Reaſon of State to maintain in ſtrength and good plight: Not ſuitable to the late practice of a Prince that firſt brake with *Spain*, then *France*, and after was hardly reſtrained from kindling a fire in the *Netherlands*, which lies in a manner in the boſome of *England*.

Now

Now I ſhould conclude here, but that I find Sir *Henry Wootton* (late Provoſt of *Eaton*, and a long time before Ambaſſador with the moſt Illuſtrious State of *Venice*) hath publiſhed a Manuſcript amongſt his Friends, and may ſince be made more general, where he offers to compare the Duke of *Buckingham* with the Earl of *Eſſex*, much to the diſadvantage of the latter; who, laying this action by, did never own the doing any thing ſo ungrateful, as might make him fear the anger, or beg the favour of a Parliament, much leſs owe his Life to the diſſolution of one already called. He is not charged with many deeds of improbity, unleſs Women be caſt upon his account, not in Juſtice to be done, the other ſtanding by. The awe he bare to the Religion then profeſſed was diſcernible by his death, which in the opinion of many reached ſomething below the Garb of a Soldier; ſo buſie are Criticks (that like Flies ſpare nothing ſavours of Fame or Infamy) to the Grave it ſelf. That he was thought no inſtrument of Tyranny or Oppreſſion, appears manifeſt in the Monument of Love, remains ſtill undemoliſhed in the hearts of moſt *Engliſh*-Men; whereas the Duke retains the general tincture of, *&c.* Nor can his well known bounty to Friends and Servants expunge it, becauſe drained from the People, or taken out of the publick Treaſure, if not from the general Safety of the Nation: Whereas *Eſſex* obliged his Confidents out of his own Store, or by other ſo innocent ways, as the Subject had no juſt cauſe to be ſcandalized at it,

The *Earl's* natural parts were as good as the Duke's, his Learning and Birth higher, the one being of an honourable, the other at beſt but of a gentile extraction. Nor can ſo inconſiderate an action, that in charity rather deſerves the title of a Riot, than of a Treaſon, come up to ſo great an ingratitude and indignity to the Nation as *Buckingham*'s Proceedings at *Rochel*, calculated after the *French* account, the ſum of which I

leave

leave for more voluminous Pens to caſt up; only I ſhall aſſume the boldneſs to ſay, that the Duke ſhewed no leſs folly in accumulating ſo great a Hatred of the people, than *Eſſex* did in miſapplying their Love. And if his ſhadows were left exact to poſterity, he was not behind him in handſomneſs, the ſole and primary cauſe of *Villers*'s advancement; only in this *Eſſex* came ſhort, in having a Miſtreſs would be attentive to Reaſon from whence ſoever it came, whether thro' the Organs of Friendſhip or Malice; whereas the Duke's fortune depended on two Princes, that in reference to their own weakneſs, or his ſtrength, remained deaf to all complaints elſe, but what were preſented through his own mediation, or thoſe of his Creatures, with which he was ever made firſt acquainted, under no ſlighter a penalty than his diſpleaſure, ſo much more heavier than the King's, as his memory was better, and intereſt more.

Concerning their Deaths, I can atteſt the Duke's did occaſion no leſs joy, than the other did ſorrow, not matched by the ſaddeſt accident did happen in Q. *Elizabeth*'s Reign, no not if her Death be caſt in, though deplorable enough, as I have often been informed by thoſe did approve the Sentence, but not the ſo ſudden Execution of it; nor was the Hangman reported to be willingly hired to do it; whereas *Felton* ſeemed to be inſpired by ſome *Dæmon*, if not the *Genius* of our Nation.

This had not been ſaid, but in vindication of that I never found cauſe yet to queſtion the Truth of, and to unwarp their judgments (if any ſuch be) that may be drawn aſide, by the goodneſs of Sir *Henry Wootton*'s parts, in knowing mens Opinions, much contaminated by his too over-zealous celebration of this Man, as may be eaſily found in the Records of Parliament, to which I refer the Reader, together with what I have in this behalf written.

Some

Some Advantages may be deducible from Court-Factions.

IT may be thought, I hope, no leſs impertinent than what went before, if, according to my rambling Method, I ſhall drop ſome conjectures in reference to a benefit may redound to the Subject from Court-Factions: All which in concluſion will reach the Prince, who cannot be ſafe and happy, if his People live miſerably; not likely to be avoided, where preferments depend wholly upon the mediation of a ſingle and uncontrollable party; in which caſe the oppreſſed have no power for the preſent to appeal to; the cauſe our latter Parliaments have been peſtered with clamours and complaints, ſeldom if ever heard of in the Golden days of Q. *Elizabeth*, and from whoſe Root ſprung thoſe Branches of Miſery, by which the greateſt felicity any Nation ever enjoyed is become over-ſhadowed, ſo that the detection of corruption in Officers, and the gratification of the malice of ſome, and Ambition of others, in their expulſions and Puniſhments, gave them at laſt the boldneſs to queſtion the integrity of the Crown.

Divers Perſons of equal Authority, tho' both Wicked, do in experience produce more juſtice, than a greater probity in a ſingle Individual hath been (at leaſt in theſe depraved Ages) heard to pronounce: For though Bribery cannot be denied a deflowrer of Equity, yet remaining more palpable in reference to detection, it may not happily be of ſo bad a conſequence, as the effects of the more uneaſily detected propenſities, found to follow the inclinations of love fear or hope; as it is eaſily deduced from the practice uſual in private Families, where a great advantage accrues to the firſt Delator, and prejudice to the party accuſed; it not lying in the ſtrength

ſtrength of Vertue, if in any agility of defence, to keep a perſon immaculate from the blurs of Calumny, for want of proof, or an indifferent Ear, which ſuperlative Powers cannot be at leiſure to afford: Nor is the advantage to be drawn from two equal Cabals, better diſcerned than by comparing the tempers of K. *James* his Parliaments with thoſe holden under the Queen; for the firſt, being wholly led by a ſingle and paſſionate affection to one *Minion*, lived to ſee never a tolerable Miniſter relating to the Crown, or any in Authority ſo reſolute as not to prefer the Favourite's command before his Maſter's, as eſteeming the frown of the laſt more deadly. Now the huge rate ſet upon places of Judicature, taught Judges to ſell their Votes, and People to complain; who by devouring of inſtruments, came at laſt ſo well acquainted with their own Strength, as not to ſpare the principal and firſt cauſe; one conceſſion ever crouding Room for a greater, if not a more unreaſonable demand: Whereas ſuch inſtruments of State as Q. *Elizabeth* made uſe of, being ſtrained through the double and contrary intereſts of a divided Party, no Vertue was excluded, or Vice admitted, any way beneficial, or of prejudice to Prince or People; contrary to the cuſtom of later Times, wherein the moſt probable deſigns were pinched, and miſcarried, through the ſmalneſs of their parts were imployed to keep them on foot; no more ſolid Reaſon appearing in the advancement of the moſt, but Mony or Favour; as no queſtion will be found inſtanced in a prodigious number of examples, when time ſhall have purchaſed impunity for the manifeſtation of truth, not ſo likely to have proved the reſult of a divided Court, where the Creatures of one were the Enemies of another no leſs powerful; and ſo they both became liable to accuſation, or capable of defence. And from the ſparkles of this claſhing, not only Perſons and actions, but the Q. Councils came to be refined from the Ruſt and Cankers that after grew through the corruption of Foreign Coin, no leſs current at Court all

my

my time than pieces of 22 Shillings, *Jacobus*'s themſelves. Now though Monarchy may (whether out of perfection or defect, I ſhall not here diſpute) make uſe of this Recipe, it ſeems dangerous, if not mortal in reference to a freer Government, where the leaſt ſiding is a ſtep towards Tyranny; the weakeſt part being as apt to call, as a potent Neighbour may be to come and aſſiſt, upon ſo advantageous an errand. All diſparities or contentions, but merely rational, and in reference to an univerſal welfare, tending to popularity and diſunion; wherefore above all things to be avoided. Nor is any near dependance upon a foreign Prince, more mighty than themſelves, compatible with Liberty, which renders lending of vaſt ſums little leſs dangerous than borrowing. And thro' which the Catholick King may one day attain *Genoa*; it being natural to all Creditors to favour their deſigns that owe them Money, in hope of Payment; and ſo become Traitors to the generality, out of the deſire of a particular reimburſment. Such folly lies in many Citizens, as they prefer deſtruction of groſs, before the hazard of their private intereſts.

But when Power is monopolized in a ſingle perſon, Faction can be no more ſpared than an eye, or an ear. Kings for the generality, out of ignorance in the World, if not for want of Wit, or too much Flattery, being unable to value what they give or receive, or whether they gratifie or depreſs Vertue or Vice, eſpecially if they have no other information but what is deduced from a Minion, whoſe judgment is no leſs clouded through Pride, than his is by affection, and a ſuppoſition of worth and abilities not really preſent; ſuch Servants owning contrary intereſts to their Maſters, who by bearing the charges of thoſe follies they daily commit, do not ſeldom prove Bankrupts themſelves of all ought to be eſteemed dear in Sovereignty.

Nor

Nor are thoſe ſingle Truſtees of the Royal aſſent found by practice ſo impartial in the diſtribution of rewards and puniſhments, but that they diminiſh by the firſt no leſs their Prince's Love, than they augment in the latter the People's Hatred, which an even debate would ſo far moderate, as to give ſuch ſatisfaction as might preſerve the generality in Obedience, by nothing ſo ſoon Forfeited, as a continued Succeſſion of cruel Puniſhments, and unjuſt cenſures. I remember after *Felton* had given the fatal blow to *George* Duke of *Buckingham*, one *Savil* a luſty Fellow, formerly Burnt in the Shoulder for a Rogue, (finding how acceptable the news was whereever it came,) gave out, he was the Man that did it; and that, though an honourable perſon's Brother, he wanted Mony to convey him away; upon which he was apprehended, and though not worth a Groat, Fined a conſiderable Sum in the *Star-Chamber*; to which, the Wiſdom, equity, and juſtice of that Court, added (becauſe they wanted power to hang him) this Corporal Puniſhment, *viz.* That he ſhould be whipped from the *Fleet*, where he lay Priſoner, to the Pillory in *Weſtminſter Pallace Yard*, there to be for two hours nailed, and after to loſe one Ear, have his Noſe ſlit, and then to be branded in the forehead; all which, as long as the *Bowels of humanity would give me leave*, I looked upon: Nor was this more than half his Puniſhment, as much being to be done to him in *Cheap-ſide*; but that (as I heard) the King, more charitable than his Judges, did Pardon it; though his perpetual reſidence in *Bridewel* was not remitted, till for another thing (ſome thought unlikely to be done under ſuch a reſtraint) he was hanged at *Tyburn*. I had not touched upon this, as relating to time, which none can remember without being agitated by envy or grief; but to acquaint Poſterity with the Opinion of a Lord, looked upon as the wiſeſt for counſel, (however he might have failed in reference to *Execution*) in his time, who at dinner that day with ſome of the Promoters of the fore-mentioned Sentence, ſaid, that though he hoped it would never be executed, yet it grieved him a precedent of that high nature ſhould remain upon record, no leſs to the diſhonour of their Mercy, than the Juſtice of his Majeſty, upon whoſe ſcore it might not unpoſſibly one day lie heavy: Nor did it ſcape the notice of the next Parliament, as any may find can procure a ſight of a Book written by Regal authority, wherein the Subject was prohibited ſo much as to name a Parliament, *&c.* But the concluſion of the fore-mentioned prudent Lord was to

prove, that of all Puniſhments death was ſooneſt forgotten, whereas Whipping and Pillory were always remembred: from whence Governours may obſerve, that the greateſt cruelties exerciſed by Subjects have had their foundations laid in pity. Nor can this diſgreſſion be thought impertinent by thoſe ſhall conſider that ſuch exorbitant and unnatural repetitions of Puniſhments, were Strangers during the Domination of 2 equal Factions; thro' the percuſſion of which, like Flint and Steel, all things came to light, which theſe Pleas might advance, or eclipſe the glory of the Prince.

Nor ſhould I proſecute this Epidemical miſchief of Favourites, at this time common with *France* and *Spain*, but to anſwer ſuch as plead for it; whom I have heard ſo impudent, as to alledge the example of our bleſſed Saviour; and no leſs fooliſh in citing the Authority due to the Prudence of *Italy*, where no Pope lives without a Nephew; forgetting the whole management of the Church was not left to St. *John*, nor the wiſe Conclave ſwayed by his Holineſs Kindred, who being encircled on all ſides with Enemies, and deſtitute by reaſon of his elective Honour of any Hereditary Friendſhip, cannot in reaſon provide better for his ſafety, againſt the dangers have for many Ages waited upon the Table and Cup of the Pope, than by raiſing a perſon to ſo high a dignity about him, as may tranſcend any preferments likely to be offered by an Enemy; the cauſe he that is ſtyled his Nephew values his preſervation equally with his own. And he that ſhall yet ſeek farther ſatisfaction, may find it in the unhappy management of ſuch Princes affairs as have ſuffered themſelves to be engroſſed by *Minions*, taken only upon the bare recommendations of their private Affections.

It is the condition of thoſe in Power to be guided by Servants.

THey ſay of the *Whale* that ſhe is ſteer'd in her courſe thro' the guidance of a far ſmaller Fiſh, and a leſſer than that is reported to alter the Natural gale of a Ship, looked upon as wonders in the deep, though few things are more uſual and Familiar upon Land. All our State-*Leviathans* being ſo far guided by their Servants, Wives, Miſtreſſes, or Favourites that in a true ſenſe there is no Monarchy, all things for the moſt part ſucceeding according to the perſuaſions of others, if not contrary to the will of the Prince; a miſchief not to be quite obviated

viated, but at the peril of falling into obſtinacy, (as great, if not a more prejudicial extreme) nor hath any King, under my experience, been able to drive on his Affairs without grating upon one of theſe exceſſes; ſo as a Nation, like that of *Egypt*, is not ſeldom governed by a Stranger, or a *Jew*; there being no ſuch thing in an unlimited ſenſe, as an abſolute Government, or if poſſible to be found, it muſt be in that as improperly ſtyled Free; Which proves there is no real Liberty or power totally Arbitrary in the nature of Things; for though the incomparable prudence of the State of *Venice*, hath compounded for moſt of the errors committed by the Senators of *Carthage*, and Queen *Elizabeth* ſhunned the greateſt Rocks of Tyranny (though as free from compulſion, as ever any Prince ſtood,) yet the Juriſdiction of either was as remote from being purely or totally abſolute, as the condition of their Subjects is uncapable of the name of Freedom; they being both too eſtimable Jewels to be intruſted with paſſion ſingle, and without any mediation from Counſel or Law. I confeſs the Grand Signior can ſtrangle whom he pleaſes; but it is ſeldom done at his own ſuit, no more than any deſert is gratified: I my ſelf have known many, ſo far Strangers to what was convenient, as they would ſcarce concede or deny any thing out of the preſence of their Secretary; and this proceeded not ſeldom from a diſtruſt there was no cauſe for; manifeſt in the Earl of *Somerſet*, who though himſelf owner of a competent ſufficiency, was ſo inchanted with an opinion of Sir *Thomas Overbury's* parts, that he preferred him from a Servant to ſuch an intimate friendſhip, as he could think nothing well educated for employment in his Office, that had not paſſed his Correction, nor Secret ſafe laid up, but in his Boſome; which ſwelled him to ſuch a Monſtroſity in Pride, that I have heard (not being my ſelf then near the *Engliſh* Court) how he offered to rant at his Servants, and did once beat the Coachman, for putting his Commands under an inferiour expoſtulation to his Maſter's. And through this intole rable arrogance in him, and remiſneſs in the Earl, the ſparks firſt flew that kindled the ruin of them both, Friendſhip being no more able to maintain its Intereſt againſt a feminine Affection, than ſo great a Pride was to confine it ſelf within the tedder of Moderation. The Minions of my time (an epidemical miſchief over all the great Nations of Chriſtendom where Monarchy ſways) did, during that Fortune, ſo far tranſcend their Patrons felicity, as they could gratifie all the reſt of their paſſions, (quite exempt from fear or danger,) being ſcreened from

from both by the perſon of their Prince, whom in reaſon they ought to defend; it having been often averred in my experience, that all the Kings I have known were found to do more for their Favourites, than they could be tempted to have done for themſelves; which may ſerve for a proof of this Aſſerion, "*That the greateſt are not free, but led in tri-*"*umph by the Affections of others, through the mediation of* "*their own*; by which means Women come to govern, and Children to diſpoſe of Common-wealths. And thus the hand of Providence, though ſteady in it ſelf, doth, out of a deſire to appear various, (and ſo more beautiful,) not only remove the great Men, but the Pawns ſo occultly in this huge Cheſs-board of the World, as they ſeem to our giddy apprehenſions, to be dandled in the Lap of a contingent ſucceſs. Though good or bad luck are merely imaginary, like the Arctick and Antarctick Poles on which the World, as on the two ends of an Axle-tree, are feigned to depend. Wherefore the apparent reaſon why great Men are ruled by more obſcure Fools, is want of judgment or ſufficiency. The hidden Juſtice of God upon the Nation in general, or perſons in particular, who are naturally unworthy through diſobedience, or have rendred themſelves ſo by a male-adminiſtration of Affairs, the cauſe their Power is ſhared with meaner People, firſt ſought to in all ſuits incident to their Places: And this Cuſtom hath brought into ſuch credit amongſt Men, as forgetting how much it ſavours of weakneſs, they labour to make it neceſſary in the Court of Heaven; as if God were more importuned, or leſs affected by our immediate Addreſſes than when we offered our Prayers through the interceſſion of the bleſſed Virgin, or ſome other Saint; conſonant to a memorable anſwer to a Catholick, made by King *James*, "*That* "*the Ruler of all things was not ſubject to dote like him.*

Yet wiſe men govern in their own perſons, as *Joſeph* is ſaid to rule *Egypt*; for had not his Servants uſed to afford more obedience than advice, ſo diſhoneſt an action in outward appearance, could never have paſſed without expoſtulation, as the putting the Cup in *Benjamin*'s Sack. To end this Diſcourſe, nothing plauſible ought to be referred to a Servant's diſpatch, nor that which is leſs Popular done by a Maſter; ſince he that is uſed to rake in dirt muſt employ an Inſtrument, leſt the filth ſhould ſtick too apparently on his fingers. Thus Princes juggle by Confederacy, whilſt meaner Men rule in their own Perſons.

FINIS.

MVSEVM BRITANNICVM